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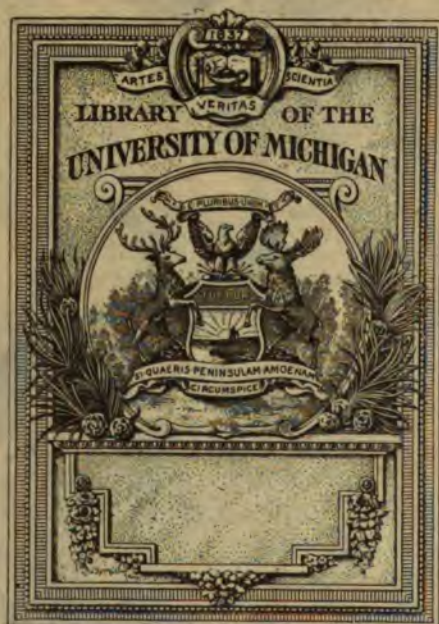
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THE EXPOSITOR.

BALAAM: AN EXPOSITION AND A STUDY.

A man of two minds, he is unstable in all his ways.

INTRODUCTION.

EVEN in the noble portrait-gallery of the Old Testament there are few figures more striking, more impressive, or more perplexing than that of Balaam. A heathen, not a Hebrew, and yet elected for special distinction in the service of God; a diviner, seeking omens and auguries and interpreting them after the approved methods of the ancient East, and yet a prophet who heard the words of God and saw visions from the Almighty with opened eyes; a sooth-sayer, affecting to foretell and even to control human destinies, and yet a seer familiar with the ecstasies of the prophetic trance, and to whom the inspiration of the Almighty gave understanding of things to be; a man of God who, in the face of all threatening and allurements, professed that he could not go beyond the word of the Lord his God, "to do a small thing or a great," and who, in the teeth of his own most clamorous interests and desires, did consistently "speak the word that the Lord put into his mouth," and yet a man of God who was disobedient to the word of the Lord, and who by his vile counsel to the daughters of Midian cursed Israel far more effectually than by any spell he could have cast upon them; a sage before whose mind there floated the loftiest moral ideal which has ever blessed the eyes of man, and to whom both the life

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and the death of the righteous were infinitely desirable, and yet a "fool" who "loved the wages of unrighteousness" even more than righteousness itself: here, surely, was a man whose character it is by no means easy to decipher and harmonize, a man of qualities and impulses so contradictory and opposed that, to most of us, he remains an enigma to this day.

Many have attempted to solve, and one or two have gone far toward solving, this enigma. Bishop Butler, Dr. Arnold, Cardinal Newman, F. D. Maurice, Robertson (of Brighton), Dean Stanley, with many more,¹ have been attracted by it; but while they have all contributed something to our knowledge of the man, and two of them, Butler and Maurice, have contributed all, or nearly all, of which their respective methods of inquiry would admit, it is still open, even to far inferior men, by employing new methods, or even by using old methods more rigorously, to arrive at a truer solution of the problem, a more adequate conception of this great but most unhappy Prophet.

And there are two methods of inquiry, I think, which may still be used with some hope. Up to this time no English scholar has, so far as I know, collected together *all* the Scriptures which relate to Balaam—Scriptures much more numerous than is commonly supposed—and studied

¹ In preparing for this Essay,—on which I would not have ventured could I have persuaded any of the more learned and able of the contributors to *The Expositor* to have undertaken it—I have naturally read all that has been said on Balaam by the great critics and thinkers of the present and of past generations, so far as I could lay my hands upon it. And I have been as gratified as astonished to find that F. D. Maurice and Bishop Butler are even now far more helpful, and go far more deeply into the real difficulties of this difficult theme, than any of their contemporaries or successors. Dean Stanley, *more suo*, deals mainly with the picturesque incidents of the story. Cardinal Newman is, for him, unusually thin and slight in his handling of it. After Butler and Maurice, Robertson is perhaps the most thorough and suggestive; and to these three I am indebted for many valuable hints and suggestions. The monographs of Hengstenberg and Kalisch are of much value from the critical point of view, especially that of the latter; but their handling of the moral and psychological problems involved in the narrative is by no means adequate or satisfactory—as we shall soon see.

them in the light of the new modern learning ; though, obviously, this is the only method by which all the facts of the case can be recovered and ranked in their due order and importance, and the problem we have to solve can be fairly stated or re-stated. And, again, I have never yet seen what may be called the *comparative* method deliberately applied to the history and character of Balaam ; that is to say, I have never seen him fairly placed alongside of other faulty or even guilty prophets, men such as Jacob, Saul, Solomon, Jonah, Caiaphas, etc., who, though they too were at times moved by the Holy Ghost, nevertheless fell under the dominion of divers lusts as degrading, if not as fatal, as those by which he was carried away captive ; while yet, it will be admitted, that if we can only *classify* Balaam, and read the problem of his character in the light of that of men of his own type, this of itself will carry us far toward the solution of which we are in search, or will, at lowest, relieve the problem of many of its difficulties.

These two methods, therefore, I propose to apply. By a careful study of all that Holy Scripture records of him, I hope we may get the facts of the case, the quantities of the problem, more clearly stated ; while by running a comparison between him and other inspired men of a similar type, I trust we may find that the problem is a much more common one than we have been wont to suppose ; that his case, which has been assumed to be without a parallel, is not so unique, and therefore not so difficult and perplexing, as it seems.

Pope called Lord Bacon—

“The wisest, brightest, *meanest* of mankind.”

Few epigrams are more brilliant, or more unjust. But though Bacon was wronged by it, there have been men who have, in some measure, deserved it ; men far wiser than their fellows, raised high above them by a splendid dowry

of the gifts which the world most admires, but who have nevertheless abused their gifts to their own shame, and to the lasting injury of all who loved and trusted them. And among these rare and gifted men, who once shone with a lustre so brilliant and attractive, but have long since sunk into the darkness of reprobation and pity and contempt, "lost to name and fame and use," we shall, I suspect, be led to rank this great, bright, but mean Prophet of Pethor.

Now of course, in urging this inquiry, our first question must be: What are the historical documents, the authorities, at our command; and what are they worth?

The first, and by far the fullest, historical document at our disposal is that which, for the sake of brevity and distinction, we may call *The Chronicle of Balaam* inserted in the Book of Numbers. Every reader of that Book must have observed that in Chapters xxii. 2—xxiv. 25 we have an episode complete in itself; and all the modern critics who have studied this Scripture concur, I believe, in the conclusion that, in this place, the Author or Compiler of the Book has inserted one of those ancient, detached or detachable, documents of which we find so many in the Pentateuch.

Where and how he got it, is a question not easy to answer, if indeed answer be possible. But, from the comparatively favourable light in which the Chronicle presents the facts of Balaam's story, most of our best scholars conclude that in some way he derived it from Balaam himself. Hengstenberg, who has devoted much labour to the illustration of the Chronicle, goes so far, indeed, as to assume that, on his dismissal by the King of Moab, Balaam betook himself to the camp of Israel, and told the chosen people how he had been constrained to bless them again and again, in the hope that they would welcome and reward him; and that, on meeting with but a cold reception, he went over

to the Midianite camp, and so fell with the chiefs of Midian when they made war upon Israel. But this is pure assumption, without a single recorded fact to support it. And, therefore, I venture to offer a speculation of my own which has at least some recorded facts to go upon.

We are told (Numbers xxxi. 8) that, together with five Midianite chiefs, Balaam was taken prisoner by the Israelites, and put to "a judicial death" after the battle had been fought and won.¹ A judicial death implies some sort of trial. And what more natural than that Balaam should plead in his defence the inspirations he had received from Jehovah, and the long series of blessings he had pronounced on Israel when all his interests, and perhaps also all his inclinations, prompted him to curse them? Such defences, in the East, were commonly autobiographical. Even St. Paul, when called upon to plead before kings and governors, invariably told the story of his life as his best vindication. And if Balaam, called upon to plead before Moses and the elders, told the story we now read in his Chronicle—what a scene was there? What a revelation his words would convey to the leaders of Israel of the kindness of God their Saviour, of the scale on which his providence works, and of the mystery in which it is wrapped to mortal eyes! So, then, God had been working for them in the mountains of Moab, and in the heart of this great diviner from the East, and they knew it not! Knew it not? nay, perhaps were full of fear and distrust, doubting whether even He Himself were able to deliver them from the perils by which they were encompassed! As Balaam unfolded his tale, how their hearts must have burned within them—burned with shame as well as with thankfulness—as they heard of interposition after interposition on their behalf of which up till

¹ So the best critics read the Verse, understanding by "*Balaam they slew with the sword,*" the sword of justice, since the battle was over when he was slain

now they had been ignorant, and for which at the time perchance they had not ventured to hope!

Balaam may well have thought that such a story as this would plead for him more effectually than any other defence he could make. And, no doubt, it did plead for him; for we all know that it is when our hearts have been touched by some unexpected mercy that they are most easily moved to pity and forgiveness: it might even have won him absolution but for that damning sin of which nothing is said here—the infamous counsel he gave to the daughters of Midian which had deprived Israel of four and twenty thousand of its most serviceable and precious lives.¹ Even with that crime full in their memories, it must have cost Moses and the elders much, one thinks, to condemn to death the man who had told them such a story as this.

On no other hypothesis can we so reasonably explain, I think, how Israel became possessed of the story recorded in the Chronicle of Balaam. But, however they got it, there can be no doubt that it shews us Balaam on his best side, in the noblest posture of his soul; and that, had we nothing but this Chronicle to go upon, we should have formed a far higher conception and have pronounced a far more favourable verdict on him than we are able to do.

For while even the Chronicle contains some hints of human imperfection and weakness, the other Old Testament Scriptures which refer to him clearly reveal those baser elements in his character which, blending with his noble qualities and gifts, have made him a standing puzzle to mankind. There is, indeed, one passage outside the Chronicle which, so far from lowering, raises him in our thoughts, viz. Micah vi. 5-8; for here a moral ideal is attributed to him than which even the Christian ideal itself is hardly more lofty and sublime. But most of these Old Testament Scriptures paint him in dark and sinister lines;

¹ Numbers xxxi. 16; xxv. 9

while the New Testament speaks of him with an absolute and passionate reprobation which fairly astonishes us, so unlike is it to its usual gentleness, until we remember that the higher and more splendid a man's gifts the lower he falls and the baser he becomes if he should pervert his gifts to selfish and sinister ends. It is from these outside Scriptures we learn that Balaam *wanted* to curse the people he was compelled to bless (Deut. xxiii. 5; Josh. xxiv. 10; Neh. xiii. 2); that it was by his counsel that the daughters of Midian were sent to tempt the men of Israel into the licentious orgies by which Baal and Astarte were worshipped, and so betrayed them to the anger of God (Num. xxxi. 16); and that, much as he loved righteousness, he loved the wages of unrighteousness still more (2 Pet. ii. 15, 16; Jude 11). And thus these Scriptures throw back a lurid light on the Chronicle itself, and compel us to read it with other and severer eyes.

Against this compulsion, however, we must be on our guard, lest it should carry us too far. Dark as is the shadow cast on the character of Balaam by these passages in Numbers, in Deuteronomy, in Joshua, in Nehemiah, in Peter and in Jude, we have no right to put the worst construction on every act recorded in the Chronicle, or to fit all Balaam's innocent or laudable actions with evil motives. It is not by making him out all bad, or all good, that we shall solve our problem, though this is how too many have tried to reach a solution. It is the mixture of good and bad in the man which constitutes the problem, which makes him so interesting to us, and so perplexing. And again and again, in reading the commentaries on this Chronicle, one has to remind one's-self that to cut a knot is not to untie it, and that to strike out all the difficult terms of a problem is not to solve it.

Thus, for instance, some of the most orthodox commentators simplify their task, cut their knot, by reading

the basest inuendoes into the sacred narrative, and wresting every incident of the story to Balaam's disadvantage. He can do nothing, and say nothing, which they do not turn against him, so thickly do motes of prejudice and suspicion float through the eyes with which they view him. Starting with the conviction that he was an unredeemed villain and impostor, they find confirmation strong as Holy Writ of that absurd assumption in trifles light as air. When, for example, they read that Balaam begged Balak's messengers to lodge with him a night, in order that he might consult God before he gave them their reply, they find in this natural and religious action only "a show of sanctity," assumed to "enhance his own importance." In God's question to him, "Who are these men that are with thee?" they hear a stern rebuke of his disloyalty in not having at once sent them back to their master with a peremptory refusal of his request. When Balaam refuses to go with them and to curse Israel, they cry out upon him for not giving them *the whole* of God's command to him: God had said, "Thou shalt not curse them, *for they are blessed*;" but Balaam says nothing of this "for they are blessed," wilfully suppressing words he did not want them to hear. Nay, more: so persuaded are these commentators of the unqualified villany of the man as to maintain that he only refused Balak's first advance "in order to make better terms for himself" and to secure a larger reward. The four misconstructions just cited are forced on only three verses of the Chronicle; and similar misconstructions, quite as malicious and perverse, are forced on it on pretty much the same scale throughout. And it is curious to observe that the critics who pursue Balaam with this microscopic and unrelenting malignity are the very men who are most resolved to find Messianic predictions in the oracles he uttered, and are most sure that to him it was given to see the day of Christ afar off!

No study of Scripture pursued in this carping and censorious spirit, and working by a method so irrational and unjust, can possibly conduct us to sound and honest conclusions. Nor will any orthodoxy of creed, or devoutness of intention, exonerate these who handle the Word of God so ungenerously and deceitfully. A lie is not less, but a thousandfold more, a lie when men "lie for God," when they think to please the Lord and Lover of truth by wresting the truth in his behalf. And we should never forget, though we are all too apt to forget, that we are no less strictly bound by the laws of justice and charity in forming and uttering our verdicts of those who are long since dead than in speaking of the living; nay, that to libel the dead is a meaner and a more cowardly sin than to libel the living, since the dead are no longer with us to speak on their own behalf. As there are few things more foolish, so also there are few more wicked, than an attempt to vindicate the ways of God by hard and undeserved censures on the characters of men, whether they be still with us or have gone before.

But if we need to be on our guard against the tendency and fault of certain (so called) orthodox commentators, we must also be on our guard against the tendency and fault of certain rationalistic commentators; for these, too, cut the knot instead of untying it, and that in the most irrational and unblushing way. As I have given a specimen of the injustice of the one school, it is but fair that I should also give a specimen of the unreasonableness of the other. Dr. Kalisch, then, who is justly severe on a fault to which he himself is not prone, has written a considerable volume on the story of Balaam, of the scholarship and erudition of which it would be difficult to speak in terms too high. And this is how he deals with it. The Scriptures outside the Chronicle of Balaam paint him, for the most part, in far darker colours than the Chronicle itself. We must there-

fore assume that these Scriptures follow a different and wholly untrustworthy tradition, and drop them quietly out of the account. Nay, when we examine the Chronicle itself, we discover in it one long episode—that which describes how the anger of the Lord was kindled against Balaam for taking the very journey He had bidden him take, and how “the dumb ass, speaking with man’s voice, forbad the madness of the prophet”—which is evidently inconsistent with the general tenour of the narrative; this, too, therefore, we must cut out as a later and misleading “interpolation,” “an unwarranted addition” to the Chronicle. But even yet there is a single word in the Chronicle—in the Verse (Num. xxiv. 1) which affirms that Balaam was wont to search for “enchantments” or “auguries”—which clashes with the general tone of the narrative; and this, though there is no diplomatic ground for suspecting it, but simply because it is “a single and isolated expression strikingly at variance with the tenour and spirit of the entire composition,” we must replace by another word, and assume that what he went to seek was “inspirations,” not “auguries.” Having thus cut and carved the Narrative to our mind, we shall have no hesitation in concluding that Balaam was a prophet of the purest and noblest type, without a stain on his character or a questionable incident in his career. “Firm and inexorable like eternal Fate, he regards himself solely as an instrument of that Omnipotence which guides the destinies of nations by its unerring wisdom. Free from all human passion, and almost from all human emotion, he is like a mysterious spirit from a higher and nobler world, which looks upon the fortunes of the children of men with an immovable and sublime repose.”¹

Thus Rationalism, with an unconscious but egregious irrationality which is its almost constant Nemesis, affects

¹ Bible Studies. Part I. The Prophecies of Balaam. By Dr. Kalisch, p. 11.

to solve the problem by calmly wiping it off the slate, and presents us with a faultless monster in place of a man of like passions with ourselves.

Not thus, but by accepting all that the Bible, both in and outside the Chronicle, has to tell us concerning him, and by patiently studying these Scriptures till light arises in the darkness, shall we come to know Balaam as he was, and learn the true lessons of his life.

I. THE CHRONICLE OF BALAAM.

§ 1. *The Invitation* (Numbers xxii. 2-21.)

When the Children of Israel, purged from the worst taints of slavery by their long sojourn in the pure air of the Desert, and in some measure trained to habits of order, freedom, and courage by the hardship and adventures of the way, drew near to the borders of the Promised Land, they were encountered by the Amorites, the great fighting clan of the Desert, under the renowned warrior-chiefs Sihon of Heshbon and Og of Bashan. It was a critical and a perilous moment; for, with this fighting clan once conquered and swept out of the way, there was none left who could successfully oppose their entrance into the goodly land; while, had they suffered defeat, the whole Arab race would probably have flung themselves upon them and hunted them down in the Wilderness. Happily for them, and for us, their victory was immediate and decisive; and, the Amorites being utterly broken and subdued, their road lay open before them, with none to make them afraid.

But though, and because, there was none to bar the way by force of arms, the fear of them fell on neighbouring clans, and two of these, taking counsel of their fears, consulted together how, since force was of no avail, they might betray and undo them by fraud. These two were the Midianites, a peaceful nomadic clan, whose caravans travelled and traded throughout the East; and the Moabites, a

settled and organized clan, whose pastures were alive with cattle, and whose cities were rich in the arts and luxuries of the ancient civilization. To the King and princes of Moab the sheikhs of Midian suggested an expedient which, however strange it may seem to us, instantly commended itself to these statesmen of the antique world, and would commend itself to many of their descendants to this day. They agreed to hire "a wise man" to *curse* the Children of Israel, never doubting that he could lay a spell upon them under which their strength and valour would wither away.

Now the Midianites in their long journeys, journeys which often extended to the Euphrates and even beyond it, had heard of a man so wise, and whose words were so potent, that none could withstand him. A prophet, and the son of a prophet, he was called Balaam, the son of Beor; that is—for men are always most attracted and impressed by the darker side of the prophetic character—he was known as *the Destroyer*, the son of *the Burner*. At the present moment he was head of the Prophetic College of Pethor, on the Euphrates, where men from many lands gathered to study under him the arts of divination and enchantment. But, doubtless, if so great and opulent a prince as Balak were to send a suitable embassy to him, with "the rewards of divination" in their hands, he would come and curse the enemies whom both Moab and Midian had so much cause to dread.

This, as we gather from the Chronicle, was how *they* regarded Balaam; and it was on this report of him that Balak resolved to send for him. But how are *we* to regard him? That he was a Soothsayer we must admit, for by this name he is expressly described to us (Josh. xiii. 22); and therefore we must admit that he was largely dependent for his knowledge on omens and the auguries he drew from them; we must admit that he was versed in the arts of astrology and divination, and bears a suspicious resemblance

to the augurs of Rome, to the "prophets" of the Homeric poems and the Athenian tragedies, and even to the astrologers, sorcerers, diviners, the wise men or magi of Egypt, Chaldea, and Persia. In the words of F. D. Maurice, "He is evidently supposed to have that knowledge of things past, present, and future which is ascribed to Calchas," for example, "and which gave him his high repute with the Grecian fleet. He is appealed to just as that seer was appealed to when a pestilence was raging in the camp or when the ships were weather-bound; just as Tiresias was sent for to explain the calamity which had befallen Thebes, and to clear up the mystery which overhung the house of Œdipus." He falls into trances, he forecasts the future, he gives advice, he utters oracles, he takes rewards, just as they did, and wraps himself in the very cloud of mysterious and lofty pretension which they were apt to wear. The Bible is not even at the pains to delineate him as an exceptionally favourable specimen of his class, but, on the contrary, represents him as eager to win Balak's favour by fulfilling his wishes, and even as ultimately fulfilling them far more effectually than by a formal curse.

Hence it is, I suppose, that the more orthodox critics—Keil, to wit—beg us to observe that, in the Hebrew, Balaam is never called a prophet (*nabi*), or a seer (*chozeh*), but only a soothsayer or diviner (*ha-cozim*), a title never applied to any true prophet; forgetting, apparently, that a still higher authority, the New Testament, expressly calls Balaam a prophet, although in the same breath it rebukes "the madness of the prophet." Hence, too, it is that, in the vulgar mind at least, Balaam has been set down, generation after generation, as a vulgar impostor whose inspiration came from beneath, not from above; or, at best, as an ambitious and crafty schemer who, to enhance his own importance and give weight to his counsels, threw the conclusions at which he arrived by reflection, experience, and

political sagacity into an oracular form, and heightened his figure as a statesman, or a sage, by mounting the tripod of the prophet.

But the Bible lends no countenance to this singular theory. It does not ascribe his inspiration to an evil spirit, or treat him as one pretending to powers which he did not possess. It acknowledges his insight and his foresight to be real and true. It grants him his prophetic trances, confesses that he saw visions and dreamed dreams, affirms that God spake to him face to face as a man speaketh with his friend; it even asserts that at times "the Spirit of God came upon him" (Num. xxiv. 2) with such overmastering force that, raised out of "the ignorant present," he beheld things which were to come to pass centuries after he should have left this earthly scene: nay, it even depicts him as lifting himself to the loftiest of prophetic functions, and holding forth an ideal of righteousness than which none is more simple, noble, and complete.

No, the Bible denies him no honour; it lavishes on him all the signs and credentials of the true prophet, down even to contumely and rejection, while yet it brands him as false to his prophetic vocation. For great as it seems to us, the Bible holds it a very small thing to be a mere prophet, to be able to foresee and to foretell things to come, or even to conceive and admire an ideal of righteousness which does not mould and inform the life. *This* was the real blot in Balaam's character; it was here that he fell from his high vocation; and it is here that we must find the difference between the false prophet and the true. We must, in short, judge him, as we judge every man, not by his gifts, but by the use he made of them. He was royally endowed. He could detect the germs of the future in the present and the past. He could discern and admire the true ideal of human life. His predictions were fulfilled. The experience of subsequent ages has confirmed his moral insight. But

to what end did he foresee the Star that was to come out of Jacob and the Sceptre that was to rise in Israel, if he would not walk in the light of that Star or submit to the rule of that Sceptre? To what end did he admire and covet Righteousness if, not content with bowing his own lofty spirit under the yoke of unrighteousness, he could stoop to betray men in whom God "saw no iniquity" into a crime so foul that it could only be washed out in their blood?

With this conception of Balaam in our minds, this hypothetical solution of our problem—thinking of him as at once a great prophet and a false prophet; great in gifts but false in the use he made of them—we can at least read his history in a just and generous spirit. We need deny him no gift, nor grudge him any good act or word. It is his very greatness which makes him so little, his very goodness which makes him so bad. Moab and Midian saw in him nothing more than a diviner, a wizard, who could shape as well as forecast the future, who could control the events he foresaw; but we may see in him a man on whom Jehovah conferred many choice inspirations and gifts, whom He loved and tried to save,—just as Jesus loved the Young Man in the Gospels, and tried to save him, though he too loved riches and fell into a snare.

Conceiving of him simply as a great wizard, the king of Moab sent twice across the whole breadth of the Assyrian desert to secure the services of this master of potent spells; for Balaam's home was beyond the Euphrates, among the mountains where the vast streams of Mesopotamia take their rise, and whence Abraham had long before come out, not knowing whither he went. His first messengers arrive, we are told, "with the rewards of divination in their hands,"—a phrase from which many bitter waters of aspersion have been drawn. Simply because they brought these rewards with them, it has been inferred that Balaam

hankered after them, although those who drew that inference must surely have known both that, in the East, to enter the presence of any distinguished person without a *nuzzur*, or present, is simply to insult him, and that Oriental custom and courtesy ordained that no one should consult a seer without carrying him an appropriate offering. Assuredly it is not the fault of the Bible if they did not know this; for in that charming idyllic story of Saul seeking for his father's asses and finding a kingdom we read (1 Sam. ix. 7, 8) that, when Saul's servant advised him to consult the Seer who might peradventure shew them the way they ought to take, Saul replied: "But if we go, what shall we bring the man? what have we?" and could not be persuaded to listen to the advice until his servant produced "the fourth part of a shekel" from his pouch. And yet who ever heard *Samuel* condemned as a mercenary impostor because Saul and his servant came to him "with the reward of divination in their hand"?

So, again, it can only be the effect of a prejudice, determined to see nothing good in him, that has led good and learned men to find "a mere show of sanctity" in Balaam's resolve to consult God before giving a reply to the messengers of Balak. For what should the servant of Jehovah do before engaging in any great enterprise? Would not the very critics who now condemn him for "hypocrisy," simply because he consulted God, have been the first to charge him with "presumption" if he had *not* consulted God?

"But," say they, "even if it were right that he should ask God what he was to do when Balak's first messengers came to him, how can you defend him when a second embassy, consisting of more and more honourable princes than the first, reached him, and he begs *them* to tarry with him while he consults God again? Did he not already know what the will of the Lord was? Can anything be

more plain than that he wanted, if possible, to change rather than to learn the Divine will, in order that he might secure the hire and the honour which Balak had pledged himself to bestow?"

To all which we can only reply:—Very possibly all your conclusions are sound enough, but they are not warranted by the facts from which you infer them. Many of the best men are represented as taking the same question to God again and again, and you have called on us to admire them for their piety, for their steadfast and persevering faith? Why, then, are we to blame in Balaam what we are to admire in them? Why are we to condemn him because, after an interval of many weeks, during which all the conditions of the case might have changed, he took his question to God a second time in order that he might learn "what the Lord had to say unto him *more*?" Even if we grant that he wanted to change the will of God and bend it to his purpose, must we necessarily condemn him for that? Did not Paul "thrice" beseech the Lord to take the thorn out of his flesh? Did not Abraham six times plead with God for the Cities of the Plain, and even venture to beat down the terms of the Almighty from the fifty righteous persons whose presence within those cities was to save them from their doom to forty and five, to forty, to thirty, to twenty, to ten? And if we are to admire his boldness as "heroism," why are we to condemn that of Balaam as "an impudent irreverence"? Nay, even if Balaam was attracted by "the very great honour" to which Balak promised to advance him, we still run some risk of doing him a grave injustice if we assume that his only motive was a mercenary or selfish one. May not "a prophet" have felt that a noble career was open to him should he become the trusted counsellor of a Prince who had given him the pledge, "I will do whatsoever thou sayest unto me"? May he not have dreamed, as many

a recluse scholar has done, of the good he might effect by leaving his studious seclusion to mingle with men, to mould their policy, purge and elevate their aims, and place before them that fair ideal of Righteousness which he had conceived? If, as we learn from Micah, he shewed Balak that God required [no sacrifice or offering, but only a just, kindly, and humble heart, may we not well believe that part, and great part, of the charm of Balak's invitation lay in the hope that he might be able to work in Moab a moral and religious reformation not inferior to that through which Israel had recently passed?

While so many innocent and laudable motives are possible, we have no right to conclude that Balaam was actuated by none but base and evil motives; the lofty stature of the man of itself renders such a construction of him improbable, unreasonable, inadequate. We are bound to judge him as we ourselves would be judged, and to give him credit for all the good we honestly can.

On the other hand, we are also bound not to ignore, or condone, what was plainly evil in the man, because we find much to admire and approve. We know from the Scriptures outside the Chronicle that Balaam did want to curse the people whom he blessed, wanted, that is, to gratify his powerful client and to secure the honours and rewards, the great and influential position, which had been dangled before him; we know also that he "loved the wages of unrighteousness" in their basest form, and cared overmuch for wealth and for the luxuries it would bring him. And if we read the first twenty verses of this Chronicle in the lurid light of these outside Scriptures, we may honestly find in them, I think, two slight hints of the presence and activity of the evil spirit that was at work in his heart, and was fighting against the Spirit of all truth and goodness.

In Verse 13, for example, we may hear a sigh of bitter disappointment in his words to the first messengers of

Balak: "Get you into your own land, for the Lord *refuseth* to give me leave to go with you." "The Lord *would not hearken* unto Balaam," we read elsewhere,¹ "but turned his curse into a blessing." And here we have a similar phrase, a phrase which leaves a similar impression on our mind. The impression is that Balaam would have liked to turn his spells against Israel, and would, if he could, have won the Divine consent to his wish. For if these simple words, "The Lord refuseth to give me leave to go with you," have in them a touch of the schoolboy denied a holiday on which he had set his heart, they are also tinged with the bitterness of a grave ambitious man who sees himself debarred from entering on a great and much desired career.

In Verse 18, as even the critics who most delight to honour Balaam are compelled to admit, there is a touch of that vile greed, that lust of riches, which seems to have been the most obvious, as it is also the most sordid, defect in his character; though even here, if we would be just, we must remember that Balaam is by no means the only distinguished personage in the religious world whom this sordid craving has marred: perhaps, indeed, there is no sin more common in the Church than this foolish "trust in riches," and no truth more commonly evaded than that which pronounces riches "a hurtful snare." When we hear him say to the second group of messengers, "If Balak would give me *his house full of silver and gold*, I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God, to do a small thing or a great," we cannot but feel that the silver and gold in Balak's house had a certain attraction for him, that the possession of wealth enters too prominently into his ideal of a perfect human life. Even Dr. Kalisch himself is constrained to confess that the words imply that Balaam was "agitated by an inward struggle" which is suggested "with the subtlest psychological art," and, for a moment at least,

¹ Deuteronomy xxiii. 5.

suffered his desire for large and affluent conditions to darken his clear and unstained soul,

In this Verse, moreover, we find the first of several utterances which, for all so noble as they sound, breed a certain suspicion in us. He who here says, "I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God to do a small thing or a great," afterwards says to Balak, "The word that God shall put into my mouth, that (only) will I speak"; and again, "The word that He shall shew me I will tell thee"; and, again, "Must I not take heed to speak that which the Lord putteth into my mouth?" and, again, "Did I not tell thee, saying, All that the Lord speaketh, that must I do?" and, again, "Did I not speak unto thy messengers, saying If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go against the commandment of the Lord, to do either good or bad of mine own mind, but what the Lord saith, that shall I speak?" As we listen to these reiterated and vehement asseverations the exclamation rises to our lips, "Methinks the prophet doth protest too much!" while, as we observe the emphasis he lays on the implicit obedience he owes to Jehovah and intends at all costs to pay, we suspect that the temptation to disobedience was already rising within his heart, and fear that he may break down at the very point of which he brags the loudest.

As indeed he did—most sorrowfully for him, most instructively for us; teaching us the danger of an overweening self-confidence, and that we are never in such peril from ourselves as when we are most sure of ourselves: teaching us also that neither the most splendid gifts, nor the most earnest intentions of obedience, are a sufficient guarantee of obedience. For it is not by denying that Balaam was a true and even a great prophet, nor by denying that he meant and tried to use his high prophetic gifts for noble ends, that we reach the true lesson of his life. Any man may be, and is, a prophet who, not content with living in

the outward show of things, is for ever seeking to acquaint himself with the principles, the realities, which lie behind the great spectacle of human life, ordain the lines along which it must move and mould the forms through which it shifts. Such an one is able to see how the present has grown out of the past, and to project the present into the future and forecast the moulds into which it must inevitably run. He can trace events backward to their causes and forward to their results, and can thus, in some measure, read the whole story of time, which for most of us has no connected story to tell. He can explain us to ourselves, tell us how we became what we are, and what we must be in the years to come; he can anticipate the course which we shall take, rouse that which has fallen asleep in us, quicken in us that which is dead.¹ And he may honestly mean to use this strange power—a power which is only strange to us because we are so inobservant, so unreflecting, so pre-occupied—only for good and noble ends. But unless he does continue to use them for such ends, let him once pervert them to a selfish use, to the gratification of his own ambition, greed, fame, and forthwith his clear and mounting spirit grows dark and dull, his insight fails him, his prevision fails him, his noble intention fails him; he sinks into the deeper sin because it is from such a height he falls. Great gifts are a great responsibility, and may only too easily become a great shame. While, therefore, we earnestly covet the best and greatest gifts, if we learn wisdom from Balaam's fall, we shall most earnestly seek that "more excellent way," on which St. Paul insists, the way of Charity: for a pure and unselfish love is not only the greatest and most excellent of all gifts; it is also the only gift which will keep all our other gifts sweet and pure.

SAMUEL COX.

¹ Cf. F. D. Maurice, *The Patriarchs of Israel*. Sermon on *Balaam*.

ISAIAH: AN IDEAL BIOGRAPHY.

I. THE YOUTH AND TRAINING OF THE PROPHET.

I HAVE asked myself during some recent studies of Isaiah's writings, whether it were possible to construct out of the fragments that remain to us a picture, at least in outline, of the man as he lived and worked, and of the surroundings in which his life was passed, which, while calling into play that element of historical imagination without which no biography worthy of the name can ever be written, shall yet be something more than a work of imagined history. In the case of the prophet's great successor, the priest of Anathoth (Jer. i. 1), the materials are more abundant. Almost every chapter has its notes of the time and occasion when the prophecy was delivered, from the first summons which called the youthful prophet to his dread task, through the long struggle with many foes, those of his own house and city, the princes of Judah, the priests and false prophets who accused him, down almost to the last days of his life of suffering, as the shadows lengthened in his Egyptian exile (Jer. xlii.-xliv.). We see the circle of the prophet's friends, Baruch and Gedaliah, and Ahikam and Shaphan and Ebed-Melech. We know the names of his bitter foes, Pashur and Irijah, and the rest. In the case of Isaiah the materials are, it must be admitted, scantier. One can hardly wonder that even the most able of recent commentators, Mr. Cheyne, should pronounce the task hopeless, and content himself with the work of interpreting the writings of Isaiah, without any attempt at constructing a biography.¹ If I do not share that hopelessness, and venture, not without some rashness, it may be, to enter

¹ "The Editor of a modern classic of the interest and importance of the Book of Isaiah would naturally preface his illustrations with a life of his author. But of Isaiah what has the Editor to tell?"—Cheyne's *Isaiah*, vol. ii. p. 159.

on his abandoned task, it is mainly because, as I have read his volumes, the outlines and even the colours of such a life have come before me with a new distinctness.

We may assume without much risk of error, that Isaiah was born not less than twenty years before the death of Uzziah. When, in the year of that death, he receives his call to a prophet's work, he does not plead youth as an excuse for shrinking back from it, as Jeremiah afterwards did (Jer. i. 6). He must at least have passed out of boyhood. It is not probable, however, that he was much older. The contents of the volume of his writings confirm the tradition that he survived Hezekiah and lived at least some few years into the reign of Manasseh. Assuming this as probable, the chief periods of his life may be arranged as follows:—

Under Uzziah	are 20 years.
„ Jotham	„ 16 ¹ „
„ Ahaz	„ 16 „
„ Hezekiah	„ 29 „
„ Manasseh	say 5 or 6 years.

This brings him beyond the four-score years which were the proverbial limit of man's life, say to the age of eighty-six or eighty-seven, and had he been much over twenty when Uzziah died, or lived far into the reign of Manasseh, it is scarcely probable that history and tradition would alike have passed over such an exceptional longevity.

(1) UNDER UZZIAH (B.C. 778–758).

We start then with the first period of the training and the growth of Isaiah, the son of Amoz. We know his father's name, and nothing more, and the Rabbinic legend

¹ It is possible, however, that the sixteen years of Jotham's reign may include the years of his regency.

which makes him the brother of Amaziah, king of Judah, is of not the slightest authority.¹ But, from first to last, the thoughts of Isaiah dwell on the Temple of Jerusalem. What most grieves his soul are the sins of the priesthood, the hypocrisy of the worshippers, the worthlessness of the sacrifices (i. 10-15, xxviii. 7). The vision of the sixth chapter is best understood when we think of the prophet as fallen into a trance in the inner court of the Temple, looking, as only a priest could look, at the curtain which separated the court of the priests from the Holy of Holies, and seeing, in his ecstasy, that which was behind the veil. The narrative in 2 Chronicles xxvi., obviously taken from a lost history of Uzziah written by the prophet (ver. 22), is manifestly the work of one whose whole heart was with the four-score priests of the Lord who resisted that king's attempt to usurp the priestly prerogative and to burn incense to Jehovah.

The life of a priest in Judah alternated, of course, between his home and the Temple. Of the cities that were assigned to the priests in the kingdom of Judah, nine belonged to the joint territory of Judah and Simeon (practically, as Simeon had disappeared from history, to Judah only), and four to Benjamin (Josh. xxi. 13-19). The name of one of these, about four or five miles from Jerusalem, afterwards memorable as the birthplace and home of Jeremiah, appears in Isaiah's prophetic vision of the march of the Assyrian armies from the north, through the territory of Benjamin, with a special note of pathos, "O poor Anathoth!"²

¹ The names are, however, suggestive. Amoz, like Amaziah, of which it is probably a shortened form, means "Jah (or Jehovah) is strength." Isaiah is identical in meaning, though the words stand in an inverted order, with Joshua and therefore with Jesus, as signifying "Jah is Saviour." A maxim of the Rabbis that wherever the father of a prophet is named he was also himself a prophet (Delitzsch on Isaiah i. 1), falls in with the conclusion I have drawn.

² The Hebrew involves a striking assonance amounting almost to a *paranomasia*, *Aniyya Anathoth*.

(x. 30). The whole of that description is manifestly written by one whose point of view was on the north, or Benjamin, side of Jerusalem. If the home of Isaiah is to be sought among the four priestly cities in that region, there seems accordingly some presumption in favour of that city. It will throw, if I mistake not, some light on the life and work of the later of the two great prophets if we think of him as inheriting the traditions of the earlier.

The education of a priest's son was naturally based upon the "Book of the Law of the Lord," whatever form that book may then have assumed; but the long and prosperous reign of Uzziah was evidently favourable to a wider culture. Volumes like those of the "Book of the Wars of the Lord" (Num. xxi. 14) and the "Book of Jasher" (the Heroes or Worthies of Israel) (Josh. x. 13; 2 Sam. i. 18), must have been within the boy's reach. From them, if not from the Book of Judges in its present form, he may have drawn his pictures of "the slaughter of Midian at the rock of Oreb" (x. 26), of that "day of Midian" (ix. 4), which was for him the type of every day of deliverance from the rod of the oppressor.¹ The first of these books, giving, as it did, a special prominence to the victories of Israel over the Moabites (Num. xxi. 14), may well have made him familiar with the names of the cities and villages which must have figured in it, and which Isaiah enumerates, giving to each of them its special poetical associations (xv. xvi.). From the last he may have learnt the stories still extant in Jewish traditions of the deliverance of Abraham from his idolatrous persecutors (xxix. 22), perhaps, if we assume that the Book of Genesis had not yet gained its present form and position, what he knew of the *tohu, bohu* ("without form

¹ Comp. Judg. vii. viii. The reference to Gideon's victory in Ps. lxxxiii. 11, shews how a later age looked back to that day of triumph. It was the Poitiers or the Agincourt of the history of Israel.

and void") of the primeval chaos (xxiv. 10;¹ comp. Gen. i. 2), of the promise that the waters of Noah should no more go over the earth (liv. 9), of the histories of Abram and Sarah, of Eden and the garden of the Lord (li. 2, 3). With these, and naturally entering largely into the work of education, there must have been the Wisdom-literature which bore its first-fruits in the Proverbs of Solomon; and of this also we find traces in the prophet's phraseology, in the stress he lays on "wisdom," "understanding," "prudence," "doctrine," "the fear of the Lord" (xxix. 13, 14, 24), each with as distinctive a connotation as the *σοφία*, *φρόνησις*, *σύνεσις* of Greek writers; in the enumeration of like ethical gifts, in xi. 2, 3, in the maxims, almost quotations, like those from the Book of Proverbs; "The vile person will speak folly . . ." (xxxii. 6, Prov. xiv. 24), "the way of the just is uprightness" (xxvi. 7, Prov. xi. 5), in the gnomic parable of the sowing and threshing, with his opening appeal, "Give ye ear, and hear my voice," which meets us in xxviii. 23-29 (comp. Prov. iv. 1, v. 1, xxiv. 30). His sense of the value of that teaching as laying the foundations of religion and ethics in something deeper than "the precepts of men" (xxix. 13), not in the maxims of a conventional morality, but in "the fear of Jehovah," may perhaps be traced in the fact that a fresh collection of the Proverbs of Solomon was made by the "men of Hezekiah" (Prov. xxv. 1) at a time when Isaiah's influence over the mind of that king was paramount. There seems good ground for believing that their work may have been carried on under his immediate direction.

The knowledge of the priests of Israel, however, took a wider range. Their functions in connexion with leprosy and

¹ The Authorized Version gives "the city of confusion," better, "the city of chaos," the Hebrew word being "city of *tohu*," the word rendered "without form" in Gen. i. 2. So again, in xxxiv. 11 we have the line of *confusion* (*tohu*) and the stones of *emptiness* (*lohu*).

other diseases involving ceremonial defilement naturally gave their studies a medical direction. The temples of the gods of the heathen round them, notably that of Baal-zebub at Ekron (2 Kings i. 2), were visited by sufferers from various diseases, as those of Apollo and Asklepios (Æsculapius) were in Greece, partly as oracles to tell men whether they should recover, partly as colleges of priest-physicians to tell them the means of recovery. The fame of these physicians, whose practice united the use of medicaments with charms and incantations in the name of their gods, such as we find in the Assyrian inscriptions translated in *Records of the Past*,¹ exercised an injurious influence over the minds of many Israelites, and it is recorded, as an instance of the faithlessness of Asa, king of Judah, that when he was diseased in his feet, suffering, *i.e.* probably, from an attack of gout, he sought to them and not to Jehovah and his servants the priests, for the means of healing (2 Chron. xvi. 12). It was necessary for the priests of Judah not to fall behind their rivals in this form of knowledge, and Isaiah's education would, accordingly, not have been complete without it. It supplied him with a fitting imagery for the diseases of the nation's life, in which the "whole head was sick, and the whole heart faint," nothing "from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head," but "wounds and bruises and putrefying sores," which had been left untended, "neither closed, nor bound up, nor mollified with ointment" (i. 6, 7). It gave him the practical skill which enabled him, when Hezekiah was sick unto death with some dangerous form of carbuncle, probably with the well-known boil of the Eastern plague, to prescribe the lump of figs which were to be "made into a plaister and laid upon the boil" (xxxviii. 21). It was not unconnected with that wide knowledge of all the lower forms of life, of the

¹ I think in vol. i., but my absence from England prevents my giving the exact reference. See also Le Normant, *Ancient History of the East*, vol. i. p. 448.

Fauna and *Flora* of Palestine which contributes so largely to the beauty of Isaiah's prophecies and which has scarcely a parallel save in the Book of Job.

But, over and above this form of training, there was that which led the future prophet into the regions of poetry and prophecy and history.

The Psalms of the Temple must, of course, have been familiar to the youthful priest, to the student in a college of the prophets, and the long peaceful reign of Uzziah must have been favourable to the development of this form of literature among the sons of Korah,¹ and other Levite minstrels. With a genius greater than theirs, with a deeper and fuller inspiration, passing in due time to a sterner and sadder work, he must yet have been familiar with their minstrelsy and music. It has been said of Burke that he would have been a great poet if he had not been a great orator. It might be said of Isaiah that, if he had not been the chief of the prophets of Israel, he would have been the chief of its psalmists. As it is, even in his prophetic work he has not forgotten the psalmody of his earlier days. He sings, "to his well-beloved a song of his well-beloved touching his vineyard" (v. 1). He has a new song of salvation for the Lord Jehovah with a great Hallelujah chorus (xii. 2-6). He writes yet another hymn for the "strong city" to which God has appointed "salvation" for its "walls and bulwarks" (xxvi. 1-4) "a song to be sung in the land of Judah."

Prominent too among the poems which attracted the attention of the young student, at once by the profoundness of its insight and the loftiness of its thought and language, must have been the great drama which we know as the

¹ Most of the Psalms that bear this title are clearly of the period which includes Uzziah and Hezekiah. Some of them present striking parallelisms to Isaiah's own teaching. See "Essay on the Psalms of the Sons of Korah," in the present writer's *Biblical Studies*.

Book of Job. Mr. Cheyne, in his invaluable Essay on "the critical study of parallel passages" (Isaiah ii., p. 217), has brought together a suggestive group of co-incidences¹ which makes it certain that, at least, the style of Isaiah must have been largely influenced by his study of that book. But those who have entered into the spirit of that book in its incisive reproofs of the conventional moralizings of the hypocrites, conscious or unconscious, whose fear of Jehovah is taught by the precept of men (Job xiii. 1-8, xlii. 7; Isa. xxix. 14), in its profound sense, true even though it come from the lips of the "miserable comforters" as from those of the sufferer, that God is indeed the Holy One (Job iv. 17, 18; Isa. v. 16), in its confessions of a deep and all pervading sinfulness (Job vii. 20, xlii. 6; Isa. vi. 5), in its great moral that sufferings are not retributive only, but are sent to educate and purify, in its conviction of a far-off Redeemer (*Goel*), the kinsman and advocate and deliverer of mankind (Job xix. 25; Isa. xli. 14), will be ready to go further than this, and to recognize how greatly the whole heart and mind of the greatest of the prophets was formed and fashioned by the greatest of the poets of the Old Testament. It is hardly too much, I think, to say that what Virgil was to Dante, that the unknown author of the Book of Job must have been to Isaiah.

It lies in the nature of the case that there was as yet no volume with what we call canonical authority, containing the writings of earlier prophets; but some at least of those whom we find among the minor prophets of the

¹ I venture to transfer the parellelisms, which are taken exclusively from chaps. i.-xxxix.

Isa. i. 8.	Job xxvii. 18 (figure from a booth in a vineyard).
" v. 24.	" xviii. 16 (root and branch consumed).
" xix. 5.	" xiv. 11 (rivers dried up—a quotation).
" xix. 13, 14.	" xii. 24, 25 (figurative description of general unwisdom).
" xxviii. 29.	" xi. 6 (God's wisdom marvellous).
" xxxiii. 11.	" xv. 35 (reap as you sow).
" xxxviii. 12.	" iv. 21. vii. (figures from the tent and the weaver's shuttle).

Old Testament canon must have been well known to him. Joel must have taught him to look for the outward and inward restoration of his people, when the pastures of the wilderness should spring and the fig-tree and the vine should yield their strength (Joel ii. 22, comp. Isa. xxx. 23), for the outpouring of the Spirit upon all flesh, even upon the slaves and handmaids, so that all should prophesy (Joel ii. 28, 29, comp. Isa. xxviii. 6, xxix. 18, xxx. 20, 21). In Amos, not a prophet, nor a son of prophets, not trained, that is, in any prophetic college, but of the herdmen of Tekoa, a gatherer of sycamore fruit (Amos vii. 14), he may well have seen the fulfilment of Joel's prediction; and that prophet, probably on his being driven from Bethel by the priest Amaziah, had uttered his words of warning against the transgressions of Judah and Jerusalem (Amos i. 1, 2, ii. 4), and had taught men to look on all the nations round them, Damascus and Gaza, and Tyre and Edom and Moab, as well as on Judah and Israel, as coming under a Divine order of chastisement and retribution. From him Isaiah may have learnt, in like manner, to stand upon his watch-tower, and to utter his "burdens" or "oracles" for the same nations (chaps. xv.-xxiii.) It is possible, as the work of Amos was carried on in the reign of Uzziah, that Isaiah may have actually heard him, as he spoke, in the name of Jehovah, the words, "I hate, I despise your feast-days, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies" (Amos v. 21), which were afterwards almost verbally reproduced by him in what was probably the inaugural discourse of his prophetic work (i. 10-15). An older seer, Jonah, had enlarged the range of the prophetic horizon, till it included "Nineveh, that great city," (Jon. iii. 2), the capital of that great Assyrian empire which was already beginning to loom in large outline in the near future of Judah and of Israel, and which is, above all other nations, the most prominent subject of Isaiah's prophecies.

Two other prophets more nearly contemporary, Hosea of Israel and Micah the Morasthite of Judah, carrying on their work during the same reign as he did (Hos. i. 1; Mic. i. 1), must certainly have been known to Isaiah, though we know too little of their precise dates to say whether they could have exercised any direct influence on the formation of his character. The work of Hosea, indeed, dealt chiefly, almost exclusively, with the exception of a passing glance at Judah (Hos. v. 10-14, vi. 11, xii. 2), with Ephraim and Samaria, and there is nothing to indicate that he preached personally in the southern kingdom. With Micah, however, there was a closer connexion, and we may almost picture to ourselves the two prophets as knowing each other in their youth, trained, it may be, at the feet of the same teacher in some school of the prophets (Isaiah, probably, somewhat the older of the two), and working together in their manhood. Whether one borrowed from the other, and if so which from which, or whether both drew from a common source, it is not easy to determine, but no one can mistake their identity of tone and feeling. Each utters his woe against those that covet fields and houses and take them by violence and wrong (Mic. ii. 2; Isa. v. 8). Each dwells on the growing evils of a voluptuous intemperance (Mic. ii. 11; Isa. v. 12, 22; xxviii. 7), on the tyranny of the princes who "abhor judgment and pervert all equity," against the heads of the people who "judge for rewards, and the priests who teach for hire, and the prophets who divine for money" (Mic. iii. 11, 12; Isa. v. 23). Each prophesies of the coming judgments of which Assyria is to be the instrument: "Zion ploughed as a field and Jerusalem left in heaps" (Mic. iii. 12; Isa. vii. 20). Each was derided by mockers who bade him cease from his work (Mic. ii. 6; Isa. xxx. 10, 11). Each has the same scorn and condemnation for soothsayers and diviners (Mic. v. 12; Isa. viii. 19). For each there is the vision of a glorious future, which both

prophets give in absolutely identical language, when "in the latter days, the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains," and the national religion having developed into the religion of mankind, "all nations should flow unto it," and there should be the beginning of a golden age of peace and blessedness for mankind (Mic. iv. 1, 2; Isa. ii. 2). Each, we may add, was accused of being disloyal and unpatriotic (Jer. xxvi. 18, 19; Isa. xxix. 21). The parallelisms which have thus been brought together carry us, of course, far beyond the period of Isaiah's life with which we are now more immediately concerned; but in taking a survey of the prophet's youth, it did not seem right to pass over the evidence which makes it probable that from first to last he had a friend and companion in his work like-minded with himself, that Isaiah and Micah may have been among the prophets of the Old Testament what Paul and Barnabas were among the prophets of the New.

The education of a priest-prophet must, in the nature of the case, have included history, and of this, whether in such books, or portions of books, of the present Old Testament canon as were then accessible, or in other quarters, the materials were not scanty. There were the official annals or "books of days" (the Hebrew title of what we call the Chronicles). There were, besides these, monographs on the history of individual monarchs, the three lives of David, by Samuel, by Nathan, and by Gad (1 Chron. xxix. 29), and Jehu's life of Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xx. 34), and Iddo's life of Abijah (2 Chron. xiii. 22), and not a few others. On these books also the mind of Isaiah must have fed. They had, as we shall afterwards see, so strong an attraction for him that his first start in literature was in that form of composition.

Do we know anything of the personal surroundings of the prophet's youth, of his own life and habits? May we see

in the exceeding pathos with which he paints a mother's power to comfort (lxvi. 13) a reminiscence of the sorrows and the comfort of his own youth and early manhood? May we find in his stern rebuke of those who had the false manliness of intemperance, "men of strength, to mingle strong drink, rising up early till wine inflame them" (v. 22) in the special vehemence with which he condemns this vice in priests and prophets (xxviii. 7), indications that the nobleness of a consecrated self-control had marked his early life, and that he too had his place among the Nazarites of whom Amos had spoken (Amos ii. 11), when he named it as one of the sins of the nation that they "gave them wine to drink"? No certain answer, it may be, can be given to these questions. I leave the suggestions which they imply to the judgment of the reader.

The reign of Uzziah was, as has been said, a long and prosperous one, both in its home and external relations. Agriculture flourished, the Philistines, Ammonites and Arabians were subdued, Jerusalem and other cities fortified anew (2 Chron. xxvi.). With this prosperity there came, in the natural course of things, corruption and excess. Conquest brought the people into contact with alien creeds. "*Philistia capta victorem cepit*," and there set in a tide of fashion in favour of soothsayers and diviners after the manner of those of Ekron (ii. 6, viii. 19, xxix. 4). Towards the end of Uzziah's reign, however, were three memorable events, each of which must have had its effect upon the prophet's mind as he passed from youth to manhood. The first of these is not noticed in the books of the Old Testament, but has been brought to our knowledge by the Assyrian inscriptions. In spite of its show of power in relation to the weaker neighbouring states, Judah had had to acknowledge the suzerainty of Nineveh, and the name of Uzziah, or, as it is in the inscriptions and in 2 Kings xiv. 21, Azariah, appears in a list of kings, Hittite and others,

who paid tribute to the Assyrian king (Cheyne's *Isaiah*, vol. ii. p. 161). To a mind like Isaiah's that must have seemed the forerunner of many evils. The first appearance of an Assyrian envoy in Jerusalem must have been to him what the first appearance of the Northmen is said to have been to Charlemagne. The cloud might be at first no bigger than a man's hand, but it would grow till it covered the whole face of heaven with blackness. The submission might seem to be little more than nominal, but it would end in an invasion which would sweep over the country like a razor (vii. 20). From that time, we may believe, the thought of Assyria weighed on his mind with an almost overwhelming force, as yet without any vision of a better future in the further distance to counterbalance it.

The second of the events of which I speak was an earthquake such as had not been known in Jerusalem within the memory of man, and which after a lapse of four hundred years was still remembered as without a parallel (Zech. xiv. 5). It became an epoch by which men reckoned the events of their lives (Amos i. 1). The inhabitants had fled from their tottering houses into the open country. It impressed men, as such disasters always do, with the sense of insecurity and coming evils. It was for them as "a day of Jehovah," the precursor of other like days. Given a mind and character like Isaiah's, with a vivid imagination, a keen sense of the reality of the Unseen, and of a righteous Order working alike through nature and through history, and we can understand how the impressions thus made told upon the prophet's mind in after years; how, in his first great sermon or pamphlet, he pictured the coming judgment as leading men to flee, as they had then fled, into the holes of the rocks and the caves of the earth, when Jehovah should arise to "shake terribly the earth" (ii. 19); how he drew a yet more terrible picture of the shaking of the earth's foundations, the earth itself utterly broken, clean dissolved,

moved exceedingly, reeling to and fro like a drunken man (xxiv. 18-20). It is not too much to say that the whole tone of Isaiah's mind was coloured by that earthquake in the days of King Uzziah which he had witnessed in his youth, just as Goethe records that his mind received impressions of a widely different character, of which he could never afterwards divest himself, from the great earthquake at Lisbon.

The last of the three events, which is recorded both in 2 Kings xv. and 2 Chronicles xxvi., must have made at the time a still deeper impression than any external catastrophe, and yet it was in part the consequence of the intercourse with Assyria of which I have just spoken. Uzziah sought to be to the religion of Israel what the Assyrian kings proclaim themselves to be, in their inscriptions, to the religion of their kingdom. He desired to figure as the priest of Jehovah, just as they figured as priests of Marduk (Mero-dach) and of Nisroch, of Ashur and of Ishtar. The narrative of 2 Chronicles xxvi. 16-23 (directly representing, as has been said, what had come from the pen of Isaiah himself), shews how strongly the priests protested against what seemed to them as great an evil as any form of idolatry, an entire subversion of the fundamental ideas of the theocracy. "It appertained not to the king," so spake Azariah the high-priest, at the head of "fourscore valiant men" of the second order of the priesthood, "to burn incense." They fearlessly told him that he "had transgressed, and that it should not be for his honour." It is at least probable that the father of Isaiah was among those worthies. For the youth itself, the sacrilegious claim must have directed his thoughts to deeper questions, not without their bearing on his future work. Had not a Psalm, which tradition assigned to David, spoken of one who was to be indeed what Uzziah and the Assyrian kings claimed to be, both priest and king, a priest after the order of Melchizedek? (Ps. cx. 4.) Uzziah's impiety may have been prompted

by the wish to claim for himself the fulfilment of that predicting Psalm. But of whom, then, if to claim the priesthood was an impiety for any earthly king, if no son of Aaron might presume to sit upon the throne of David, did the Psalmist speak? Must it not be One who should be of earth and yet of heaven, man yet more than man, one to whom Jehovah could speak as to Adonai ("the LORD said unto my *Lord*") almost as to one who was his fellow,—a son of David and yet also in some sense, and by some process as yet unrevealed, a son of God? The outcome of those questions may be traced, if I mistake not, in the later thoughts and language of Isaiah when he spoke of the child who was to be called "Wonderful, Counsellor, God the Mighty One (or the Hero), the Father of the ages, the Prince of Peace" (ix. 6), of the rod out of the stem of Jesse on whom the Spirit of the Lord should rest, and who should reign over a restored and regenerated earth (xi. 1-9), of the Servant of the Lord who was to be brought very low and yet to be exalted very high (lii. 13, 14), cut off out of the land of the living, and stricken for the transgression of his people, and yet prolonging his days and seeing of the travail of his soul (liii. 8-11), called not only to restore the preserved of Israel, but to be "a light to the Gentiles, the salvation of the ends of the earth" (xlix. 6).

A young man with Isaiah's gifts and culture had what might have seemed a brilliant career before him. He might have taken his place among the counsellors of kings, have risen to the high rank of the "king's friend," the "prime minister" of an Eastern court (1 Kings iv. 5), might have conducted negotiations for alliances with the monarchs of the neighbouring nations. He tells us himself how it was that he was called to quite another life than this. But that call was, we may well believe, with him, as with others, the crown and consummation of a period of struggle and of

conflict. The brightness of his life had been darkened by the new strange thoughts that stirred within it, by the sense of evils in himself and others with which he found himself powerless to cope. Were those four-score valiant priests who had been so zealous for the privileges of their order true representatives of the ideal of priesthood? Did he not, living among them and, as it were, behind the scenes, see that they too were worldly, sensuous, corrupt, ambitious (xxiv. 2, xxviii. 7)? Were they exercising any influence for good on a people sinking into yet grosser vices? Lastly, was he himself better than they? Had he any right to judge or even to reprove them? He felt as one who lives in times that are out of joint, who cannot make up his mind whether he is born to set them right or no, who now is burning to enter his protest against the evils that surround him, and now sinks back in the consciousness of his own impotence and unworthiness. He stood at least on the verge of the full maturity of manhood when there came to him that which was at once his conversion and his call. It was to him what the vision on the journey to Damascus was to St. Paul, what that of the Divine Presence in the bush that burnt with fire had been to Moses. It was in the year of Uzziah's death—probably, but not certainly, after that death—when the opening of a new page in the history of his nation would intensify all these conflicting feelings. He was in the Temple, on a solemn feast-day. The courts had been filled with priests and worshippers. The thick clouds of incense made the air heavy with their perfume. He fell into a trance, and his eyes were opened as those of Amos had been before (Amos ix. 1), as afterwards were those of Stephen (Acts vii. 55, 56), to see what others did not see, to hear what they did not hear. The veil of the Temple was drawn aside, and on the Mercy Seat he beheld a Throne, and on the Throne the long "train" of the glory-robe of the Divine Pre-

sence of Jehovah Sabaoth. The cherubim, with whose forms he had been familiar, as represented on the veil of the Temple (Exod. xxvi. 31), representatives of the great elemental forces of nature in its manifold forms of life, were transfigured into the seraphim, the "burning ones," incandescent as the swift-winged lightnings. He heard, as it were, the great Hallelujah of the universe: "Holy, holy, holy, is Jehovah Sabaoth, the whole earth is full of his glory." And then there came on him, as on all who have been led, in like or unlike ways, into the consciousness of the nearness and holiness of God, a sense such as he had never known before, of his own exceeding sinfulness, of his sharing in the evil of a nation also exceeding sinful. All past convictions of sin uttered themselves in the cry, "Wo is me, for I am a man of unclean lips, and dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips." And this was followed, as in the experience of ten thousand times ten thousand, by a new sense of pardon and peace and purity. For him there was, as it were, the fire of an instantaneous purgatory. One moment of agonizing pain, as the burning seraph took the glowing charcoal from the altar and touched his lips, and then the voice that said unto him, "Lo, this hath touched thy lips, and thine iniquity is taken away and thy sin is purged." And now he could answer eagerly to the call from which he had before shrunk. He heard from out the glory of the Throne the question asked, "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?"¹ As yet he saw not who it was that sat on the right hand of the Majesty on high, the fellow and the counsellor of Jehovah Sabaoth; but that plural could hardly fail to associate itself in his mind with the mysterious Adonai of the

¹ The ordinary explanations that the words are a *pluralis majestatis*, or the address of Jehovah to the Seraphim as of a king to his counsellors, are hardly satisfying. There would be, even from the merely poetic standpoint, an incongruity in representing the Seraphim as at once adoring in profoundest reverence and sharing in the divine deliberations.

Melchizedek psalm, and to prepare the way for the thought of a plurality, or at least a duality, in the unity of the Divine Nature. He, at any rate, answered to the call with all the eager ardour of a glowing youth, "Here am I; send me." The mission on which he was sent was one of the most discouraging that ever came to man. He must have felt, as no prophet had ever felt before him, how terrible it was for a mortal man to be a vessel of God's truth.¹ He was not sent, as Paul was sent afterwards, to "open the eyes of men, and to turn them from darkness to light and the power of Satan unto God" (Acts ix. 15); but to "make men's ears heavy and to close their eyes," to deepen the self-chosen blindness and deafness of his people till they filled up the measure of their iniquities, and judgment came upon them to the uttermost, and "cities were left without inhabitants, and many houses were made desolate, and there was a great forsaking in the midst of the land." It was well that beyond this darkness he saw a gleam of hope. He might yet believe in the promises of God, and the indestructible vitality of his people. There might be but "a remnant" left, the "tenth" part of the people, but that, as a tithe, should be consecrated to God. Even that elect portion might need to be reduced yet more, to be "eaten" and, as it were, pruned, by further chastisements; but within this should be left the true scion that should spring out of the stump, and that at last should be holy and inviolable (vi. 1-13).

What effect this vision had on the character and work of Isaiah will be seen when we pass to the second period of his life. It will be enough here to note the fact that this is the only vision of the kind, the only apocalyptic trance of which we find a record in his writings. It might be given

¹ "Schrecklich ist es deiner Wahrheit
Sterbliche Gefäss zu sein."

Schiller.

to other prophets, as to Amos, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah, St. Paul, St. John, to see many visions of manifold symbolic forms, each with its own mysterious significance. His eyes had looked upon the King, the Lord of Hosts, and that was to be enough for him. The way had been pointed out to him so that he could not doubt, and he was content to walk in it, and do his work without turning to the right hand or the left, though as yet he knew not whither it would lead him. To use his own words at a later date, he chose rather to walk on still in darkness and have no light "than to compass himself with the sparks of a fire of his own kindling" (l. 10, 11).

E. H. PLUMPTRE.

SCRIPTURE STUDIES OF THE HEAVENLY STATE.

I. THE PAULINE VIEW OF DEATH.

1 Corinthians xv. 36; Philipians i. 21; Colossians iii. 3.

THE history of the Bible, as it seems to us, exhibits four distinct attitudes of the human mind towards the idea of death; a crouching attitude, an attitude of flight, an attitude of conflict, and an attitude of reconciliation. To put it otherwise, we have within the limits of Scripture, (1) a sense of the predominance of death; (2) a hope of escaping death; (3) a prospect of vanquishing death; and (4) a denial of the reality of death.

The earliest phase is a sense of the predominance of death. Man receives it as a penalty from the hand of his Creator, and therefore its physical terrors are accompanied by an experience of moral degradation: "In the day when thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die;" "Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return." The second stage is not a contradiction of the first, but the addition to it of a thought which somewhat relieves its gloom; it is the hope

that a perfectly good man may be allowed to escape death. This hope finds expression in the translations of Enoch and Elijah. In whatever light these events may be regarded outwardly, the record of them marks a new revelation made to the human soul, the revelation of a deep and indissoluble connection between morality and immortality. Even here, however, there is no break in the cloud of death. Enoch and Elijah do not vanquish death; they are simply allowed to evade it. The third stage of development is more pronounced. Here the human soul enters into conflict with death itself; and, no longer content with merely escaping its power, contemplates the ultimate extinction of its power. There is coming a time when its reign shall be broken. They that sleep will not always lie in the dust. They shall come forth into newness of life and shine as the stars in the kingdom of their Father. The Book of Job, whatever be the date of its composition, gives to this phase of the Jewish mind a true expression where it says: "I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand on the latter day over my dust; and though worms destroy this body, yet without my flesh shall I see God." Beyond this stage Judaism, in its own unaided strength, never reached. The nearest approach it ever made to the vision of the soul's immortality was the belief that one day the work of death would be undone, its web and veil destroyed, that the fabric of human life would be reconstructed by a fresh fiat of Omnipotence, and that the creative Word for the second time would say: "Let us make man." It was reserved for another and a higher power than Judaism to usher in the fourth and final revelation—that which has robbed death of its present sting and the grave of its present victory.

To this final revelation of the nature of death we now come. It belongs essentially to the New Testament, and is distinctively Christian. It is the first intimation given in the Bible, we do not say of a life after death but, of the

immortality of the soul. It is here that for the first time the idea of resurrection, of reconstruction, of second creation passes into the thought of a life that never dies, not even in the act of what we call death. It is here that for the first time death itself becomes transfigured into a form of life. The penalty is transmuted into a blessing, the ancient enemy is changed into a helpful ally. Death, in the conception of the New Dispensation, has taken the place of Elijah's fire-chariot in the old. It has ceased to be a terminus; it has become a stage, a point of transition. The Christian does not, like the ancient Jew, exult in the hope that a good man may escape death; but he exults in the larger hope that every good man will find in death itself the source of his escape, the means of his emancipation from the limits of the seen and temporal into the glorious liberty of the sons of God.

As the representative of this new or Christian mode of thought we have taken St. Paul. We have done so not because Paul was its originator, but because here, as elsewhere, he has been the first to clothe the new thought in a definite form. There can be little doubt, indeed, that the germ of the idea is to be found in the teaching of our Lord Himself. Those who admit the genuineness of the fourth Gospel can have no difficulty in seeing the predominance of this thought in the narrative of the resurrection of Lazarus. In that narrative the Jewish view of death comes into direct collision with the new Christian idea. Martha says: "I know that he will rise again at the resurrection;" Christ virtually tells her that she has seen only half the truth, that she is looking too far in advance. It is folly in her to wait so long for the consummation of her hope; the consummation is already at the door: "*I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live;*" that is to say, shall live in the *hour* of death, shall live in the act of death, shall live in the

disembodiment of death. We believe, indeed, that the revelation of this truth is the main design of all those miracles which relate to the raising of the dead, and specially of the greatest of all those miracles—the resurrection of our Lord Himself. If the question were asked in our day, What was the use of Christ's resurrection to the men of his own age? it is probable that the answer would be, To prove the immortality of the soul. And yet it is clear that St. Paul would have given a slightly different answer to this question. He says of the Gospel of Christ, not that it has *proved* immortality, but that it has done something more fundamental still—"brought life and immortality to *light*." The idea clearly is that the Gospel miracle of resurrection is not so much the proof of a doctrine as the first revelation of a doctrine. To the Jewish nation it undoubtedly was so. It brought before the mind of that nation for the first time the conception of what it is to *be* immortal. Up to this time the Jew had never thought of liberation from death as a thing which could happen before the end of the world or present system of Divine government—unless the Pharisaic doctrine of an occasional metempsychosis be deemed an exception. The idea that an individual spirit could be clothed upon with a house from heaven previous to the rising of the universal dead was an imagination which it had not entered into his heart to conceive. It came to tell him that he had no need to wait for his re-embodiment till the close of all things, that the individual soul had already its garment prepared for it, and that in the hour of death that garment would be put on. And how could it better express this thought than by the miracle of an immediate resurrection? How could it better symbolize the fact that death is not a dissolution of the human personality than by an act which, in the very midst of the reign of death, reveals the reconstruction of that personality? There was no need of such miracles if they were

only to tell the Jew that there was a time coming when the graves would yield up their dead: *that* was a point which for centuries at least he had never doubted. What he needed to be told was the power of a present resurrection; and he received this knowledge here. He was taught that, to the good man, to die is to be present with the Lord; and that to be present with the Lord is ever to live again in newness of life: "This is life eternal to know Thee;" "I am the Resurrection and the Life."

But although the germ of this doctrine is given in the Gospel narrative, it is in the writings of St. Paul that it is first fully unfolded. Here the idea, which was wont to be clothed in symbols, comes forth in its own attire, and is at once recognized to be itself and not another. The metaphor is dropped, the parable is discontinued, the miracle is accepted as an universal law; and it is declared in words which cannot be mistaken that death is the necessary prelude to a higher life, that to die is gain. As representative of the Pauline idea we have selected three passages from his Epistles, and these we propose briefly to consider. If we begin with that of the Philippians, and pass on next to view those of the Corinthians and Colossians, we shall, as it seems to us, be able to arrive at an exhaustive summary of the Pauline idea of death. The summary we think will be found to involve three points:—I. The life of the saint after death is a state of joy not different in kind from that which makes his present life valuable, but very much increased in the degree of its intensity: "For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain." II. This increase in the old power of enjoyment is not something which is reached in *spite* of death, but something which is attained directly *through* death: "That which thou sowest is not quickened except it die." III. Yet this quickening power of death seems to the eye of the spectator to have the opposite tendency; it hides the departed from the earthly gaze: this is

exhibited in the use of the metaphor, "Ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God."

I. St. Paul says that the good man shall enjoy after death a pleasure similar in kind, but superior in degree, to that which gives value to his present existence: "For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain." Now let it be observed what Paul really means here; it is that to him death and life are the same thing—to *die* is only another form of *to live*. It is as if he had said: What experience can death bring me that I do not possess already? You call death a giving up of the spirit; I have all my life been giving up my spirit, I have been dying daily, hourly, momentarily. My life has been one long self-surrender, one continuous utterance of the death-prayer, "Into thy hands I commit my spirit." For me this personal life has all along been the life of another; to live has been *Christ*. And this death in life has been to me a joy. I have counted all things but loss for it; it has been to me the one good that has made this life worth possessing. The other life will be of still greater worth to me only because it will be the fulness of that joy, because I shall see face to face what now I behold through a glass darkly, because I shall be able to comprehend with all saints the height and the depth of that love Divine which as yet are known to me only in part.

Such is Paul's meaning in this striking passage. In so far as the joy of this present life consists to him in the fact of communion with Christ, he declares that the future life will be a gain to him because it will open up within him new powers of "spiritual vision," new avenues of communion with the Object of his love. To Paul, indeed, the essence of the joy alike of earth and heaven is communion with Christ. The happiness of heaven would never, to St. Paul, any more than the happiness of earth, have consisted in pearly streets and golden gates and melodious harps. He would not have counted it gain

even in this present life to have received a double portion of the wealth, splendour, and delight which these symbols are taken to represent; much less would he regard as gain such an increase of outward possessions in the world beyond the grave. The only gifts which he valued here were the things of the Spirit; the only gain which he contemplated hereafter was an increase in the things of the Spirit. In his vision of heaven there is visible but one figure—the form of the Son of Man. That image, indeed, to borrow St. Paul's own expression, "fills all things." He can see nothing else. It puts out the sun and the moon. It hides the beauties and splendours of the celestial landscape. It causes the surrounding objects to have no glory by reason of its own excelling glory. To depart and be with Christ is Paul's definition of what in modern times is called going to heaven. What else may be there he knows not or cares not. The one form which meets his gaze, the one object which rivets his eye, is the figure of the Crucified. To him, as to the writer of the Apocalypse, the city has no need of the sun because the Lamb is the light thereof. To the one, as to the other, the satisfaction lies in a single point of knowledge which is sufficient to compensate for all other points of ignorance: "It doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that when HE shall appear we shall be like HIM, for we shall see Him as he is."

II. This brings us to the *second* feature in the Pauline view of death. He has told us that the joy or gain of heaven is the power of communion with Christ. He now goes on to tell us that this joy is reached by the good man, not *in spite* of death but, *by reason* of death: "That which thou sowest is not quickened, *except* it die." We in modern times are so accustomed to think of death as a transition that we are apt to forget how very fresh and new this conception must have seemed to the contemporaries of St. Paul. We illustrate the grave by the garden. We

plant flowers over the dust of the departed to signify our hope of immortality, to shew our faith that death is not a destroyer. But that is because we have been born with Paul's metaphor ringing in our ears, and with Paul's idea of death floating in our atmosphere. Imagine that we had been born into a world in which the idea of death was inseparable from the thought of sin, and where the grave was ever associated with the absence of the Divine Love: what would then have been our impression in hearing such words as those in the passage before us? What should we have thought when we heard an event, which had always been viewed as a calamity and a curse, suddenly spoken of as a benefit and a blessing? Should we not have felt that we were confronted with a paradox? Such assuredly must have been the feeling of St. Paul's contemporaries in listening to his exposition of the nature of death. For the first time, in direct and positive terms, they heard the king of terrors represented as an ally of the man of God, and he who had been wont to appear before them as the destroyer of all life is presented to their gaze as one who opens the gates of a life more abundant. Let us not suppose, however, that in this view of the subject, Paul was in antagonism to the faith of his fathers; he simply added to that faith. He never doubted, any more than his countrymen, that death was sent as a penalty, nay, he held that the whole present constitution of this world had its origin in penalty. But then, Paul believed that the present constitution of this world, including death, had been taken up by Christ into his own person. *He* had borne the great penalty of human life and human death; and, in bearing it, He had taken it away. Life was no longer penal; death was no longer penal: neither of them could any longer separate from the love of God; we were conquerors over both through Him. In Christ everything was transfigured, and death among the rest. Paul's leading

idea is the *reconciliation* of all things. He does not look upon Christianity as something that is to destroy the existing laws of nature, but as something that is to glorify them by giving them a new meaning. The old material is to remain, and he is content that it *should* remain; but it is to be lifted out of the shadows of the night and brought into the blaze of sunshine. It is to be reconciled with the being of all other things. It is to be made consistent with the love of God and the divine image in man. It is to be proved compatible with the prospect of human immortality and the purpose of human redemption. Those elements, which were once the antagonists of the soul of man, are to become the servants of his soul: "All things are yours—the world, life, death; all are yours; and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's."

There is, then, no inconsistency between the view of Paul and the view of the Old Testament. Death is not abolished as a fact, but it is abolished as a penalty; it is reconciled with the other ways of God, and is made, like them, to manifest the Divine love. But a more important, because a more difficult, question on this point remains. What is the thought in Paul's mind when he says that death quickens? We can very well understand the older view that, in *spite* of the triumph of death, the human soul shall be quickened by a reconstructive Divine miracle; but Paul says more than that; with him it is death itself that is to quicken; the soul reaches its highest life by the process of death.

How are we to account for this? In order to account for it we must bear in mind St. Paul's view of the nature of the human body. No one can read his Epistles and fail to see that, in his judgment, the body of man as now constituted is the antagonist of the spirit. He continually opposes the spirit to the flesh, the spiritual man to the carnal man, the law of the mind to the law of the members.

He speaks of this present environment as a body of humiliation in which the spirit groans, and from which it earnestly longs to be free. He declares that flesh and blood cannot enter the kingdom of God, that we need to be clothed upon with a house from heaven; and that the absence of this spiritual organism is the cause of that interruption to perfect sight which mars our present communion with God. To be at home in the body is, with him, to be absent from the Lord; to be absent from the body is to be present with the Lord. St. Paul's opposition to the body is not that of an Essene, not that of a Platonist, not that of a Mystic of any kind. He has a passionate love for the human form as such. He longs for nothing so much as a reunion of those elements in man which sin has severed: "I pray God your whole body and soul and spirit be presented blameless." Paul wants no mutilated human nature, no life of humanity moulded after the pattern of asceticism, in which the claims of matter are denied. But, then, Paul felt that human nature was *now* mutilated, that matter and spirit were at present in a state of dissonance, and that there was wanted some power to restore the balance between them: "The flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh, and these two are contrary." Even the saint of God, even the man who had been stirred by the breath of the Divine Spirit, was still subject to this inward strife. He had, as it were, a double consciousness, the sense of two lives within him, in whose struggle he was impelled to say, "The evil which I would not, that I do; and the good which I would, that I do not. O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death?"

What, then, was to deliver man? It was not merely a question of moral emancipation; the Divine Spirit had achieved that. It was something which the Spirit had left to be done by a physical agent because it was a work pertaining to the physical sphere. The disturbance to be

healed was one which had its source in man's outward nature, and therefore it was fitting it should be healed by the intervention of an outward agent. What was this agent to be? What was to be that power which should crucify the destructive element in the flesh and deliver the creature from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God? As Paul looked round to find an answer to that question his eye lighted upon that which had been esteemed the source of all corruption—death; and he asked: Why should not this be itself the agent of emancipation? Why should not this power, which men have called the great destroyer, be the destroyer of that which limits the human soul? This was what St. Paul asked; and the answer which he reached appears in the words, "That which thou sowest is not quickened, except it *die*." Death itself from that moment assumes to him the attitude of a liberator. It ceases to be any longer a negative process in any other sense than that in which the striking off of a man's chain is negative. The human soul is now fettered by a chain of corruption, a body of sin. Death destroys the body, and so breaks the chain. It sets the spirit free from that which had been its bane; it emancipates the life of man from that which had obstructed its growth. Death destroys that which had the power of death; it shatters the walls of the prison, and ushers the enlarged soul into the house not made with hands.

III. Death, then, is in St. Paul's view an enlargement of man's nature, and itself the direct source of that enlargement. But we come now to a *third* and in one sense a converse side of the Apostle's teaching on the subject of death. He tells us that although the human soul by its liberation from the present body has in reality reaped great gain, it has to all outward seeming sustained a loss: "Ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God; when Christ who is our life shall appear, then shall we also

appear with him in glory." Observe that in this passage St. Paul is not speaking directly of physical death, but of the surrender of the soul which is implied in regeneration. But, to illustrate this surrender, he employs the metaphor of physical death, and his metaphor amounts to a definition; he says that to be dead is to be hid. To die is not indeed to have the life put out, but it is to have the life covered, hid somewhere from the world's view, made incapable of manifesting itself to the gaze of men. St. Paul doubtless said within himself, as we say: If the dead are alive, why do they not speak to us? Whence this long silence that answers not from cave nor hill? Surely there must be some barrier to their communion with us. Surely there must be something to prevent their *appearing*, some cause why we see them not, some reason why they have no share in the work beneath the circuit of the sun. And as St. Paul reflected on this mystery, he came to this conclusion: The reason why the dead do not speak to us is that they are resting. Their life of incessant action has been followed by a life of quiet meditation; the night of rest has succeeded to the day of toil. There will come a time when this night of rest shall pass into a day of work again,—work in which there shall be no sense of toil. The hiding shall in due season be followed by the appearing. Yet, at this present time, it is well that they should be hid. Their hiding is a season of rest—rest from the world, rest from the tempter, rest most of all from themselves. It is good that their eyes and ears should be curtained awhile from the sights and sounds of earth. It is well that there should be a momentary loss of personal power in order that there may be a breathing-space to feel the power of the Most High. The soul wants a moment of leisure. It craves an instant of self-unconsciousness that it may be conscious only of God, that it may see the way by which it has been led; and that, in this vision of the Infinite Plan,

it may rejoice with a joy unspeakable and full of glory. To be with Christ in God is to be hid from all beside.

Such we believe to be the interpretation of what St. Paul so often describes as the sleep of the soul—an hour of meditation intervening between the days of action, rest after the old work and preparatory to the new. Bishop Lightfoot, in his Commentary on Philippians, has remarked, that the writings of St. Paul contain two distinct sets of passages relating to the state of the dead; that, while he sometimes speaks of them as enjoying a more close communion with Christ, he at other times seems to regard them as asleep. Lightfoot truly observes that the one set of passages must be taken as qualifying the other. The whole question turns on the meaning we attach to the word "sleep" in the writings of St. Paul. Now it seems to us that the true key to his meaning is to be found in the Verse before us. In this passage he gives us his own definition of death. He says that to die is to be hid, to lose the power of manifesting to others the life that is in us. That this is Paul's view is clear from the contrast he draws between the hiding and the appearing: "When Christ who is our Life shall *appear*, then shall we also *appear* with him in glory." Here it is evident that the "appearing" of the dead does not mean their literal awakening, but the power to reveal the fact that they *are* awake. The proof of this is that the very same word is used of Christ Himself. No one will suppose that in the view of Paul *Christ* was asleep. Yet Paul says of Him just what he says of his followers; He and they alike are to have a time of appearing or manifestation. The previous state of both, therefore, must be one of concealment—partially, in the case of Christ; totally, in the case of his followers. The so-called intermediate state is the state of concealment which separates the earthly from the heavenly recognition. And how could St. Paul better express this than by the metaphor of sleep?

Sleep is essentially a state of hiding. What it is in itself we know not. We cannot say that it is a suspension, or even a diminution, of the vital powers. We only know that it is a condition in which our friend is hidden from us and we from him. We have indeed frequent evidence that his thought is *not* suspended; we can hear him mutter in his dreams. But what is the nature of those dreams we know not. The sleeper may be separated from us by no spatial distance, but he is divided from us by a gulf wider than any spatial distance—a difference of mental condition and activity. There is a spiritual veil between us which makes communication impossible; he cannot pass over to us, and we cannot pass over to him. Sleep is a curtain which hides each soul from every other soul; in sleep every man is alone.

Now this we believe to be the sense in which Paul describes the state immediately after death as a sleep. We hold that, in his view, the first experience of the soul in a future world, whether it be joyful or sad, is an experience in solitude; that is to say, in solitude so far as man is concerned. The saint enters into the joy of Divine communion; he departs to be with Christ: but in Christ his life for a time is hidden from all beside. He is not revealed to the common gaze, nor is the common gaze revealed to him. He is alone with God, in a solitude of joyous meditation, which is his gain, but not his goal. His goal is that time of manifestation when meditation shall pass into action again, and he who for a while has rested from his labours shall rest not day nor night. It will be reached by each man in his own order, by one to-day, by another to-morrow; for the dead in Christ shall rise first, and they that are nearest to the centre of life shall come the earliest into the city of God.

GEORGE MATHESON.

*TEXTUAL CRITICISM ILLUSTRATED FROM
THE PRINTING-OFFICE.*

THE present paper may be characterized as an attempt at bridging over the chasm between two conflicting schools by the process of casting in some hitherto untried materials. I have been encouraged to this step by the friendly counsels of more than one scholar entitled to respect, though neither of these, I am bound to add, has any close idea of the direction which my comments are really likely to take. As a student twenty-five years ago I learnt to regard the *Textus Receptus* as critically no better than "so much rubbish;" and the subsequent fifteen years of my connexion with printing, taking almost their commencement in the correcting of "*Alford*," have till recently operated to increase rather than diminish the spell which this dogma possessed for a disposition naturally iconoclastic. And yet, with all this influence from the works that came before me, the experiences of the occupation itself were tending almost from the first to arouse misgivings as to the extent to which modern reasonings are often pushed; and now that a notable event has impelled the other side also to speak—to utter much that is most unsubstantial, it is true, and yet with it all "much that might give us pause"—I have been induced to review the lessons taught by my employment, and to apply them, with a strictly modifying effect, to the instances in which textual editors have aroused the deepest offence.

Briefly, then, it will herein be made my effort, while according, in no small degree, with those who have made textual criticism what it is, still to demonstrate that mistakes in processes of copying are so incessant in occurrence that the critic is forbidden to cut out for himself a royal road by attaching an overweening importance to the accuracy of any individual guide. With this design I shall

proceed to cite and classify a number of actually observed mistakes made by the class of copyists with whom my own engagements have brought me into contact; and at the same time to bring out, both by examples and general observations, the phenomena of the Greek text upon which these mistakes appear naturally to bear. By this means, without seeking to assail modern principles root and branch, this paper would place by their side countervailing principles—each class to be preferred as circumstances may determine, and each alternately to cast their rivals into the shade.

It will be convenient to treat the subject under four larger divisions: (I.) the grounds for broadly maintaining an analogy between modern printing and ancient transcribing; (II. and III.) examples bearing respectively upon the two great critical canons—that the shorter reading is preferable to the longer, and the awkward one to the more easy; (IV.) suggestions on the rationale of true textual criticism as accordant with the intermediate tendencies herein evinced.

I. GENERAL ANALOGIES.—I have often wondered whether any idea of the extent to which printers' errors really occur can ever have reached the outer literary world, or at all events any of our textual critics. It would veritably seem that their exclusive conception of them must be formed from the two or three in a sheet, or it may sometimes be more, which come actually before their own eyes; and that thus they have never been brought to realize that these are but the few and desperate survivors of what in the first place were scores or possibly hundreds of times their number. An inspection of any average rough proof would convince even the most incredulous of this fact, and would assuredly prepare them for new ideas on the subject of textual criticism—as soon at least as they had overcome the inclination of their first astonishment to form an unjust conclusion as to the cause of the mistakes themselves.

For printers' errors are not to be sweepingly set down as the result of some extraordinary carelessness, but may distinctly be regarded, after certain abatements have been made, as legitimate samples of those which occur in the work of copyists of every class. We must make some abatement for the element of speed, and yet hardly to the extent that would naturally be anticipated, for we may presently see reason for concluding that in the earliest periods it was anything but unknown. Then there is that most important factor, the difficulty of deciphering authors' manuscript, though even this had undoubtedly its ancient counterpart in the faded strokes which old copies must frequently have shewn. But after such deduction as may be thought reasonable has been made upon these two scores, as well as upon some of a mechanical nature which give rise to the mass of more trivial corrections, I boldly assert that there is not an influence operating to lead the work in the printing-office astray which did not prevail also—in kind if not in degree—with those who so laboriously transcribed our ancient copies of the Scriptures. In fact whether it is the monk tracing out letter by letter a Greek codex, or the lawyer's clerk producing a fair document from a rough one, or the young lady copying a poem into her album, or the compositor putting his author's words into type—with each and all the process is the same, and the causes which conduce to error in either case will in all ages and places affect also the rest.

Then let us glance for a moment at the item of correcting. In the case of printing, the few, or comparatively few, misprints which are allowed to meet the eye of the author are reduced still further in number by himself or by his friends; and then the proof is finally returned and read through again by a reader at the office. And yet, after all this reiteration of care, how many books go forth absolutely free from a mistake? To ensure such achieve-

ment would in many cases be a herculean task, which time and expense alike forbid. Inadequate, however, as the usual precautions prove, would any one for a single moment imagine that even the treasured Vatican Manuscript underwent at its production a fourth part of this toil?

But perhaps the objection may here be offered by some—stronger believers in editorial accuracy than I am—that though mis-spellings and other trifles would often escape notice, the instances of undetected real deviations from the copy would be likely to be extremely few. It is surely sufficient to answer *Circumspice!* There they are, manuscript variations by tens of thousands, of which but a very reduced portion could have survived if any systematic correction of copyists had been carried on. Whatever some may assert about wholesale *wilful* corruption, if every instance were set aside as to which this imputation could be even conceived, the total number would be diminished to a quite inappreciable extent; the theory of *abridgment*—if the triviality of the curtailing does not make it utterly ridiculous—would at the most explain a minute fraction more; and even if we further set aside all those in which harmonizing or glossing influences were suspected, the diminution, though large and important in itself, would, compared with the aggregate, be still but slight. All the vast mass of the remainder would be the silent but too sure witnesses to that systematic *absence* of correction which allowed copies steadily to increase in error as the course of the earliest centuries flowed down. Let not this leading fact be lost sight of: copyists' errors pure and simple cause at least three-fourths of the variations in the digest; and however apt we may be to fix our thoughts upon the remaining fraction, we have to come, for the origin of the large majority, to the mere want of strict supervision of the scribes. Look at that one great source of omissions which critics could not fail to recognize from the first—*homazo-*

teleuton, or the passing over from one word in the copy to another which is either the same word or the same in termination. Observe the scores of instances in some manuscripts, especially \aleph and D, in which long omissions have resulted from this cause, and many of them have either never been supplied at all, or only by a corrector some centuries later on. Need I emphasize this by appending the statement with which the honest candour of Tischendorf has practically demolished the idol he revered? Codex \aleph , he tells us, was revised by a perfunctory and indolent *diorthota*, who made just sufficient corrections to let it appear that he was earning his money, but sufficient also to shew that had he done his duty he could have made vastly more. And this is the testimony of the most friendly of all witnesses as to the codex supposed by the whole modern school to rank second only in purity of text!

But how stands the matter in regard to B, the supreme Vatican Manuscript itself? Codex B is certainly in some material particulars very far superior to its Sinaitic comrade: it contains decidedly fewer homœotels—of striking ones, indeed, comparatively none; it is much less marked by monstrosities of spelling; and as to readings absolutely impossible or absurd, its worst assailants must admit that they come very far between. But, on the other hand, none would surely dispute that it contains a sufficient number of very serious blunders to prove that at the best it received a most inadequate revision; and the list of charges against it presented on pages 353–4 of the April number of *The Quarterly* (1882) may be said to have served up several bitter pills which the most devoted admirers of that manuscript must find it extremely hard to swallow, though apparently, when \aleph also was concerned in their compounding, they every one are swallowed by Drs. Westcott and Hort. Then we may turn to the numerous instances in the digest of Alford—a critic who, through the comparative soberness and mode-

rateness of his views, seems to be now ignored by both schools alike—in which he has rejected its readings as glosses, assimilations, or obvious errors of some other class, and as to which all scholars possessed of any approach to his own impartiality will probably be inclined to pronounce that in the large majority of them he was right. Yet again, let us note Dr. Scrivener's important discovery, that in many places its scribe has written his words *twice over*—a fact of which I shall further on bring out the very serious bearing by shewing how the copyist with whom this habit prevails is likely to have perpetrated a much larger number of *omissions*. But perhaps an even more damaging indictment than any to be discovered in individual anomalies consists in the circumstance, admitted both by Tischendorf and Dr. Hort, that the scribe who produced the whole of this codex was identical with the lazy and careless “hireling” to whom was entrusted the duty of revising Codex \aleph . May we not ask with some boldness how it is possible to place any inordinate share of reliance upon the workmanship of one who stands thus convicted by his foremost friends? At all events if any of us have been hugging the idea that these ancient codices were labours of love and monuments of Christian zeal, it is time we awakened to the fact that we have been dwelling in a fools' paradise. The writer of the Vatican Manuscript was pretty evidently one rather of that class of whom we still find too numerous examples—who can produce first-class work so long as they choose, but who are as destitute of steadiness as of principle, and must be incessantly looked after or in their “scamping” moods they will spoil the whole. Then as to the Sinaiticus I have been inclined to query whether it is not like the production of a youth—we are concerned of course only with the New Testament portion, for there are stated to have been four scribes engaged upon the codex, including him of the Vaticanus—a youth just fresh from school, who

had obtained high commendation for his handwriting, but who could not have the experience essential to such a task as bequeathing a standard text to after times. My opinion must here be rated for no more than it is worth, but I do most confidently believe that the inordinate estimate of these two manuscripts—an estimate which seems to regard them as nearly equal in accuracy to editions of Alford and Tregelles—is as great a delusion as that which would possess a printer who should send uncompered to the press the productions of an able but drunken journeyman and of an intelligent but unproved apprentice. Ask any printer in his senses whether he would follow such a course in a work of importance with the very best journeyman that ever lived; nay, ask the journeyman himself whether he would not be the first to protest against the responsibility. And yet to be “looked down by eye,” and not re-read throughout by copy, is morally certain to have been all the revision that even B and N regularly received.

Then as to the leading fact or pair of facts which operate so powerfully with critics in maintaining the greater purity of these two ancient codices—their presentation of a text which is all but uniformly both *shorter* and *more difficult* than that of others—I must beg them for the present to be willing to hear me out till I have tested the weight of those criteria themselves. Provisionally they will be able to admit the possibility of two families of manuscripts originating by processes respectively these: the scribes of the one have copied nothing beyond the text of their archetype, but have neglected due precautions for the prevention of omissions; those of the other have been most scrupulous in this latter respect, but, in their eagerness to include everything, have swept into the text a host of marginal glosses. It is needless to say that, in the result, one class would be about as defective as the other—the one incomplete and the other impure;

and any royal rule about the intrinsic superiority of either shorter or longer readings would be of no more value than taking an example of either class just as it was. And precisely the same can be conceived as to the difficult or inelegant readings, by supposing that the same scribes who were guilty of the omissions were also negligent in correcting their other mistakes, while the scrupulous ones not only referred to the copy for all that puzzled them, but, if they found the same difficulty there, altered the text on their own authority in the undoubting conviction that it must be corrupt. Now I need hardly add that an hypothesis of this kind will nearly express my own ideas of what is distinctive in the text of B and N on the one hand, and of A and especially the Received Text on the other; while in C, it may be said, we find an oscillation between the two systems, and in D a combination of the erroneous features of both. As to this last literary curiosity, may I be allowed to add *par parenthèse* that the co-existence of these two seemingly opposite vices is after all nothing to occasion surprise—an innate propensity for the inclusion of everything that *happens* to be found, and yet an absence of that *systematic* care which overlooks nothing in the actual process of transcribing. When therefore Drs. Westcott and Hort ascribe to D an especial weight in the case of omissions, they must surely be forgetting that, as judged by *their own text*, it does really omit, shall I say, considerably more than all other leading manuscripts put together!

But turning from particular authorities to general considerations, what is the most legitimate and rational conclusion as to the state of the average text of those early times? Fortunately we have it admitted upon both sides that the great mass of the worst existing blunders took their origin long before even B and N were produced. And it would be strange indeed if documental facts did

not necessitate this admission. For what was the state of the times themselves during which the earliest copies must have been prepared? Where were then the monks who in later centuries were able in the calm leisure of their convents to devote whole lifetimes to the transcription of the Bible? Troublous days, alas! were those, when neither monks nor convents had been thought of, and when even the professional calligraphers and the publishers as we may term them would often refuse to comprise within their calling anything that might subject them to the dreaded Christian ban. Many, therefore, of the early reproductions would almost certainly be the work of individual private converts—men who, beyond the bare faculty of writing, possessed not a single qualification for their task, and were therefore necessarily unsuspicious of the pitfalls it presented on every hand. And even those copies that were the outcome of professional handiwork would labour under a disadvantage unknown in later years: scribes who were not converts themselves would find the matter entirely *new*, and they would thus be liable to far grosser errors—bringing the work in fact into strictest analogy with that of printing at the present day. But how meanwhile with the unprofessionals? A man would perhaps be temporarily housing some travelling preacher who brought with him a copy of some Gospel or Epistle, and this the host would resolve to transcribe. Eagerly and hurriedly he would devote himself to the labour, anxious above all things to *get it done*; and if the thought of revision ever entered his mind at all, he would leave it till the work of transcription was complete; and before that consummation, it may be, he would be haled off to prison or to death. This of course is an extreme supposition, but a sufficient portion of its features to work havoc in the state of the early text must assuredly have occurred by wholesale; and I believe I risk nothing in the assertion

that an average copy so produced would be *far worse* in nearly every respect than the uncorrected proof of an intelligent compositor. There would be every shade and variety in the kind as well as degree of the inaccuracies committed—some omitting words and phrases, others whole lines and sentences, others abounding in mis-spellings and wrong grammatical forms, and yet others misreading or mentally confounding the words they were about to write. Then other copies would be prepared from these: more inaccuracies would follow—omissions being added to substitutions and substitutions to omissions—while the more conspicuous errors would give rise to marginal conjectures or to emendation by guesswork; and along with all this there proceeded the work of harmonizing, both intentional and from unconscious familiarity, and that of annotating and then confusing annotation with text, with just here and there the bold perversion by way of heretical artifice, or as often of pious fraud; till—why refuse to admit the fact?—the precise wording of the original text came in many a passage to be banished from the sphere of confidence, and probably even in not a few to be a thing that was hopelessly and for ever lost.

Is this dismal picture presented as a true sketch of the origin of our two earliest codices? Only to a partial extent: it is an honest attempt at depicting that widely prevalent corruption in the general influences of which they must more or less have shared, but, so far from being applicable to them in all its enormity, it possesses in their case another side. These two manuscripts, as a part of the outcome of such conditions, require indeed to be keenly scrutinized whenever they differ from other authorities near to their own age; but they are far *too good* to exhibit the full depravity which we may reasonably hold to have been then rather the rule than the exception. So far, therefore, from closing in with the opinions of Dean

Burton, that they were "vile fabrications," "preserved only for their eccentricity," and such as "no honest copying, persevered in for any number of centuries, could by any possibility have resulted in," we may fully adopt—in words at least, though perhaps not quite in spirit—the verdict of Dr. Hort, that "even the less incorrupt [of the two] must have been of exceptional purity among its contemporaries." In fact nothing will serve my purpose so exactly as taking Codices B and \aleph at what Dr. Hort himself pronounces them—manuscripts of the Neutral class, or a class whose pedigree has never enjoyed any systematic recension; which has proceeded with the best average care which in those distracted centuries could be looked for, and, while subjected to no extensive wilful perversion, has also never been overhauled or compared except in occasional and individual passages. The manuscripts of the Alexandrian and Western types he tells us *were* subjected to overhauling, and then the great Syrian Recension followed; and this statement lays upon him the burden of proving that such recensions, to the last of which he himself applies the epithet "judicious," would regularly or even usually result in alterations for the worse. It is a case in which mere assumption will not suffice, for unless all that has been just advanced can be set aside as a baseless figment—and we know that Dr. Hort does *not* thus set it aside—the presumption seems rather to amount to a moral certainty that every manuscript in existence must have *required* recension, and that to a very large extent indeed. Call it Syrian or call it what we will, it can scarcely have failed, if it really took place—and I shall state further on that upon that point, as upon others, I cling to an intermediate view—to have brought to light a vast number of omissions and other blunders, and, though often incorporating glosses and making editorial changes that were not correct, it must materially

have purged the Neutral manuscripts from their crying defect of ever-increasing incompleteness. Thus, while we are greatly indebted to B and N for pointing us to a number of serious marginal accretions, we must consent very often to reverse the modern preference in their favour by restoring those probably genuine expressions which their curtailed text has failed to transmit.

II. SHORT READINGS.—The critical canon which, as handled by each successive editor, is making more and more inroads into the Received Text—that the shorter reading is preferable to the longer one—has undeniably a large measure of reason for its foundation; but it is now so carried into practice that reason and riot are wholly confused, while the safeguards with which it certainly requires to be hedged about seem to me to demand the restoration of perhaps the larger half of the words or passages which it has caused to be erased. There are, of course, abundant instances in which a longer reading can be readily explained as growing out of a marginal gloss or an assimilation or so forth; but there are numberless others in which this is not the case, and in respect of which there is need of more discrimination than the implicit trust in B and N is bringing into vogue. Thus, on the one hand, we may dismiss the account of the angel troubling the pool as probably a mere superstitious explanation of the mystery of intermittent springs; the three heavenly witnesses must of course go as a simple note of a striking analogy; the doxology, as a liturgical addition, stands only the more absolutely condemned by the efforts of its champions to shew up the weak evidence in its support; and the Lord's Prayer in Luke may, with the far greater probability, be believed to have been written in one of the shorter forms and then expanded from the full one in Matthew (while, by the bye, the total absence of the doxology from every authority in the former seems a safe warrant for assuming

that all the interpolations in Luke had been completed before that conclusion was first appended in the other Gospel). But, on the other hand, how dumbfounded we become when seeking by any process of this kind to explain away such a passage as the disputed portion of the speech of Tertullus. To view it as an accretion seems all but out of the question; but the moment we admit the possibility of an early copyist having skipped it over, the case ceases to present any difficulty at all. It may perhaps have resulted from the phenomenon of *imperfect familiarity*—one which, though it can but rarely operate in a printing-office, is not unlikely to have played a very important part in New Testament transcription, especially in passages just one degree less familiar than the Lord's Prayer, but containing like it a number of co-ordinate clauses (*e.g.* Matt. v. 44 and Luke iv. 18). But in the above case (Acts xxiv. 6-8) we may believe that the scribe had written as far as ἐκπαρήσαμεν, when on looking back to the copy his eye caught the words παρ' οὗ δυνήσῃ, which he may have known to be a part of the same speech, and which at all events seemed naturally to read on; so that apparently the omission, though very strongly supported (were it not for the *versions*, I could not bring myself to defend the passage at all), is only an instance of that momentary relaxation of carefulness from which nearly all errors in transcribing arise. As to the two still more lengthy instances—the last twelve verses of the Gospel of Mark and the story of the Woman taken in Adultery—the most weighty evidence, especially in the former case, rests upon internal grounds, and seems to have proved to demonstration that, whatever may be the intrinsic value of the two passages, they could not have been written by the two Evangelists under whose names they respectively stand.

Considerations of this character will be borne in mind by every rational and candid enquirer; but I submit they do

not justify the elevation into an established critical canon of the dictum, "The shorter reading is to be preferred to the longer." For in this wide sense it is not even needful to refer to the printing-office for illustrations; common sense and the personal recollection of every one who reads these pages will immediately inform him that, when engaged in copying an extract, he is fifty times more likely to *leave something out* than to insert something not in the original. But I am told by a distinguished scholar that this fact has but a partial application to the early manuscripts, the producers of which were "editors and not merely scribes." No doubt there often were editors concerned in the work, but there were scribes as well; and though the same persons may frequently have combined both functions, I shall still maintain—and I am glad to do so with his own approval—that the converse of his words has equal force—"They were scribes, and not merely editors." They may indeed, in the latter capacity, have felt free to make insertions when they judged them to be required; but, in the former, they would be incessantly prone to cut down rather than to enlarge. But I have said enough upon this point already: proof is glaringly before our eyes that, with whatever ability the ancient codices were "edited," they were transcribed by men with the imperfections of ordinary copyists. From my own experiences with one class of these, I will now attempt to illustrate the chief phenomena of omission.

1. *Homæotopy*.—Foremost and gravest among the special inducements to the skipping of words or passages, we shall naturally rank the well-known snare of homœotel. It is quite needless to specify instances of this in its regular form, but I may remark that it is nothing uncommon for a compositor to omit three or four lines from the mere recurrence of a word of scarcely, if at all, more than that number of letters. My purpose here is—making use of a more comprehensive heading—to specify some modifications

of the way in which two *like places* in the copy may operate to affect the copyist, and that whether they are like words, like terminations, like prefixes, or simply like positions, as from point to point, gap to gap, or the end of one line to the end of another.

a. Homœoarchy.—This is another term which I have ventured to coin, and which may be explained as differing from homœotel in this way: the latter is a confusion of the word or letter with which, upon turning from copy to transcript, the copyist actually broke off; homœoarchy is a mistaking of the one which, upon thus breaking off, he accidentally observed to follow next. The incessant commencement of Greek clauses with *καί*, and the omissions which frequently appear to have resulted (as of the important *καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν* by DN in Luke xxiv. 51), is a sufficient exemplification of this influence, the distinct character of which is worth observing, since, if such cases were classed with ordinary homœotel, the objection would at once occur that no copyist would be likely to break off reading *after* a trifling monosyllable at the beginning of a clause. Still as many copyists may have worked *by lines* instead of by clauses the distinction may not always be a certain one.

b. Doubling.—It very frequently happens in printing that homœotopy occasions a double instead of an omission—the compositor having duly reached the second of the two similar positions, and then, on returning to his copy, resuming at the former in its stead—interruption or some other cause preventing his detection of the repetition. Such an instance as that in Mark iii. 32, *ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου καὶ αἱ ἀδελφαί σου* (AD), may very possibly have been a mere double in the first place, and then the change to the feminine will have been made as preferable to striking the words wholly out; and so perhaps in Rev. xix. 12, *ἔχων ὀνόματα γεγραμμένα καὶ ὄνομα*.

γεγραμμένον δ οὐδεὶς, κ.τ.λ. (B and cursives), as the following arrangement of the shorter form tempts one to conclude :—

ΕΧΩNONΟΜΑΓΕ

ΓΡΑΜΜΕNONOΟΥ

But here, from necessity of context, when the double had been made (if it was one) it was the former of its two members which came to be changed, and then the insertion of the *καί* would be but a trifle. But the unintelligible presentation of the *plural clause alone* by the seventh-century corrector of N (which codex had originally contained only a portion of either) affords basis for speculation as to our having here a *conflate reading*—one however not introduced at the Syrian Recension, but only by the eighth-century Vatican codex which Alford distinguishes by the small capital letter B. He, however, is the only editor who has accorded the plural clause even a bracketed reception.

c. Mental Homœotel.—There is a most unmistakable mental effect of homœotel, which operates, not in causing the copyist to look to the wrong word of his original, but in leading him, while actually copying or composing, to think that he has reached a certain word when he has only reached another that resembles it. I cannot illustrate this better than by a mistake which I myself recently committed twice over. Having occasion to copy out a scrap from one of Tennyson's Lincolnshire poems, on writing the line, "But I knawed a Quaäker feller as often 'as tow'd ma this," the influence of the recurring termination *er* caused me to omit the word "feller;" and on happening to glance shortly afterwards at another paper on the same subject which I had written some months previously, what was my astonishment to see that I had then committed the self-same mistake, for there before my eyes was the same word "feller" inserted with a caret! As a probably similar instance, I have lately noticed a

careful compositor omitting the second of the two names "Venantius Fortunatus." In a language abounding with terminations this influence would be likely to prevail by wholesale, as in combinations of adjectives and nouns of like declension, or any string of words terminating alike; so that very many of the omissions of single words by homœotetel may be ascribed with great probability to its effect. The passing over of *καινῆς* by BZN in *τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης* (Matt. xxvi. 28) may be an instance in point; if not, it may be assigned to No. 2 below. And as *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Θεοῦ* would probably be written in four contractions of two letters apiece, I incline to attribute to this cause the omission of the last two words by N in Mark i. 1.

d. *Combinations mentally produced.*—Differing only in detail from the above are the instances in which there is some slight difference in the two terminations, and that of the latter word comes to be joined to the commencement of the former, as when "aggregate estates" is cut down to "aggregates." But this feature, though likely to be of rare survival in the codices, is in itself of very wide operation: for instance, I have seen "mere words" contracted into "merds," where apparently the letter *r* was the sole cause; and so for "Arctic Miocene" I have had "Aiocene," where the only element of homœotopy was the fact of both words commencing with capitals, or perhaps both being a little out of the common. But this last example ought perhaps rather to be attributed to the wider feature to be specified next.

2. *Mental Influence of a Following Word.*—The circumstance of fixing the mind upon the end of a clause, or upon any striking word which it contains, will often operate to cause a copyist to skip over some of those intervening. This is particularly likely to occur when the abbreviated form gives a readable sense (as under the next heading); but this is by no means an indispensable condition. Thus,

for "the influence of Origen" a compositor, as if to give a practical illustration of the words he was setting, allowed the "influence" of that name to cause him to cut down the phrase to "the Origen." Just possibly the thought of "origin" caused the confusion; but in the very same set of proofs, where some Hebrew letters occurred with the words "in Hebrew" clearly written before them, the effect of the *letters* banished the *word* "Hebrew" from the compositor's mind, so that he merely inserted the "in" in meaningless position before the former. Greek examples will be found in plenty by looking at the bracketed single words in such a Testament as Alford's; and I suspect that the debated case of [*αἰνοῦντες καὶ*] *εὐλογοῦντες τὸν Θεόν* at the end of Luke's Gospel is really nothing more—the homœotel however adding perceptibly to the effect. Quite possibly this last reading may have *come back* to us by conflation; but whence came the *αἰνοῦντες* as a variation at all? I believe that, though *possible* as such, probability is on the side of its having been *original*; and that then, having been overlooked from this cause by the archetype of B C N, it was in a somewhat later copy inserted in the margin, whence the appended *καὶ* became torn away or obscured, and thus led to the belief that *αἰνοῦντες* was a *substitution* for *εὐλογοῦντες*, as we find embodied in the actual reading of D.

3. *Non-essentiality to Construction*.—This is another principle of extremely common operation, though it is often very difficult to judge whether it or the one preceding prevailed in a given omission: frequently indeed it is only that other's most ordinary form. A few instances from recent proofs may be given at random, all the bracketed words having been left out: "They were [in truth] a stronger party;" "born about [the year] 365;" "though they [may] accept;" "more books [to leave] than I inherited;" "to hit [one of] them on the head;" and even "Omar, the Saracen [emir], assisted." I suspect that it was nothing more than this

mechanical forgetfulness—which results (when not simply from No. 2) from the copyist reading over too long a string of words at a time—which produced the notable omission of B N in Mark i. 14, *κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον [τῆς βασιλείας] τοῦ Θεοῦ*, and that of the Received Text in Matt. iii. 6, *ἐβαπτίζοντο ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ [ποταμῷ] ὑπ' αὐτοῦ*. Just so when a word or phrase is omitted at the end of a sentence grammatically complete without it, as in Mark x. 21 (by B C D N), *ἀκολουθεῖ μοι [, ἄρας τὸν σταυρόν]*: similarly in Matt. xxiii. 38 (by B), *ἀφίεται ὑμῶν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν [ἔρημος]*: and even the notable clause *ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ* (by B N) in John iii. 13. Unfortunately some equivalent of that very important little word “not” is, as we all can testify, specially liable to this omission.

4. *Turning of Lines*.—Perhaps no revelation that could be made from the printing-office would occasion so much surprise as that of the vast number both of omissions and doubles which are made by confusion as to the point the compositor has reached at the end of a given line. Even in the case of divided words we very frequently find either the second half omitted or the first half repeated; and from this the examples range up to the skipping or doubling of an entire clause. In those Greek manuscripts which were reproductions *line for line* this influence is likely to have prevailed to but very slight extent; but as it is certain that from time to time the lines were made to vary in average length, and moreover some copyists have shewn great desire to begin sentences regularly with fresh lines, there can be scarcely a doubt that in the course of the transmission of the text down to the fourth century, a large number both of omissions and doubles were actually produced thereby—the latter of course nearly always revealing their character upon the surface, but the former, if the shorter expression happened to give a passable sense, now and again being unsuspected, and so helping to produce that “more concise

text" which we are now called upon to esteem for the mere fact of its conciseness.

5. *Concurrent Turning of Pages.*—I have frequently observed in my own case a momentary confusion between copy and proof, so that on turning a leaf or shifting to a new page or column of the one, I have mechanically done the same with the other—especially if this also was very *near* to the bottom. This is perhaps just worthy of allusion as a *possible* explanation of the omission of some entire sentences in the manuscripts—as, for instance, of the last verse of Luke v. in D. It should be added that omissions of one or two words also frequently result from a concurrent turning of *lines*—thus rendering the fact noted in the preceding paragraph additionally probable when by its means a new line of copy can be begun simultaneously with that of transcript or proof. Thus I had lately so impressive a word as "distinctly" left out by the compositor when it was most *distinctly* written, but chanced to be the last word in the line when his own line was already complete.

6. *Unexplained Omissions.*—After all our efforts at the analysis of errors in printing, there is a residuum of omissions for which no cause can be suggested except that the compositor's attention was distracted for the moment, and he was thus led to suppose that he had *passed* a word which he was in reality only approaching. Instances in a recent series of proofs are: "his reign was [not destined] to be a long one;" "present at Monnica's [death] at Ostia;" "the [enormous] influence;" and even "in most [ardent] pursuit." Such an omission as this last could of course never have passed the ordeal of centuries in the Greek codices, though almost certainly the majority of them would have amended the phrase by deleting also the "most." Do not such examples suffice to make it clear that scarcely *any* omission is too flagrant to be possible in transcribing?

—INSERTIONS.—Before quitting this topic, it seems best

to refer briefly to the feature which forms the reverse of "short readings"—a point which I may introduce by remarking that though *doubles*, from one cause and another, are of extremely common occurrence in printing, the insertion of a word not in the copy at all (beyond some little article or particle) is almost as extremely rare. There are two, or I may say three, cases of exception to be noticed in the ensuing article: the first (III. 8), when the eye wanders to an adjacent spot and catches a word which happens to make sense with the phrase immediately in hand; the second (III. 7), when a syllable that chances to form a word is made to do duty twice over (as seen in the *μαθητευθεις εις* of Matt. xiii. 52). I shall also cite (under "Consecutive Illustrations") a few instances of the genuine mental expansion of a phrase to some familiar form—instances which, were they only more frequent, would materially shake my view of such readings as the *Ἰορδάνη ποταμῷ* in No. 3 above, but which, in my own experience, are on the contrary almost a unique characteristic of one individual compositor. In the same connection I may note the frequency with which words appear in proofs which were not intended by the author to stand, but which he had failed properly to delete; and this occurrence finds its analogy in our Greek codices when the trick of the calligraphers has purposely left a redundant word unexcised for fear of drawing attention to their own inaccuracies. The conduct of the scribe of B in this respect has already been referred to; and he is surely exhibiting an instance of it when writing in Luke xxi. 24, 25, *ἄχρι οὗ πληρωθῶσιν καὶ ἔσονται καιροὶ ἐθνῶν. καὶ ἔσονται, κ.τ.λ.*, where, after copying *πληρωθῶσιν*, he evidently jumped by homoearchy from *καιροί* to *καὶ ἔσονται*, but on coming to the following words found that his sentence did not read, so went back to the omitted *καιροί*, but would not delete the words substituted therefor.

I now humbly submit, in closing this division, that I have

made out a sufficient case for the easy occurrence of omission, and the comparative rarity of the opposite vice, to justify my calling upon our critics to think again as to the soundness of their canon in favour of short readings, and to hesitate more than they have done before striking from the text any passage or word for which evidence of the least value can be assigned. In a subsequent number I hope to examine the other leading canon, and to follow it up with some consecutive illustrations of them both; after which I shall venture upon some general suggestions as to the lines upon which a compromise of the antagonistic views will apparently have to proceed.

ALFRED WATTS.

BRIEF NOTICES.

THE LIFE OF JAMES CLERK MAXWELL, by *Lewis Campbell, LL.D., and William Garnett, M.A.* (London: Macmillans.) Clerk Maxwell was born with a genius for mathematics quite as remarkable as that of De Morgan or Pascal. While still a lad he contributed original discoveries on recondite curves to the proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh; and before his premature death he had "enriched the inheritance left by Newton, and consolidated the work of Faraday," besides giving a new impetus to scientific investigation and research in the University of Cambridge. Through all, too, he remained a devout believer in the fundamental verities of the Christian faith; and that not, as some have done, by forcibly keeping faith and reason apart, but while resolutely asserting "the right of trespass on any" and every "plot of holy ground," from which the superstitions or the fears of men had warned off the passer by. It was indeed a canon with him "to let *nothing* be wilfully left unexamined;" and hence he suffered his reason to play freely round the truths he most surely believed, and tested them by the very methods he employed in dealing with the large yet very strictly limited province of phenomena which comes within the purview of science.

Under his conditions, favourable as most of them were, it is not easy to conceive a life more pure, vigorous, and beautiful than his;

and it has found fit record in the volume before us. Indeed it is long since we read a biography so charming and instructive. Professor Garnett's admirable summary of his original researches and discoveries is, as it could not fail to be, too abstruse for any save those who have been trained in the higher mathematics, though to them it may prove the most attractive section of the work; but Dr. Campbell's memoir of the man—to which also Professor Garnett has largely contributed—is well within the reach of every educated and thoughtful reader. To every such reader we heartily commend it. They will draw from it new inspiration and strength. It will remind them how much genuine and noble work may be crowded into a narrow span of life, a span of less than fifty years. And if, as they close the volume, their mind be clouded with regret that the life of one of the rarest and choicest spirits of our time should have been cut short, and that even the last few years of it, which should have been the most prolific, were rendered the least prolific by the pressure of domestic trouble and distress, they will nevertheless find consolation in seeing how a man of the most remarkable and unique endowments cheerfully sacrificed the work he loved best, with all the distinction it would have brought him, to the claims of the plain moral duties and pure household affections which are binding upon us all.

It is a good sign that *THE ORGANIZATION OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCHES*, by *Edwin Hatch, M.A.* (London: Rivingtons), has already reached a second edition. Other books on this subject may have been as erudite, if erudition implies only compass and variety of reading; but we know of none so learned, if learning be taken to denote the wise patient spirit which broods over, sifts, and duly appraises what it reads; none so fair and yet so bold, so liberal and yet so truly conservative of all that is best and most enduring in the orders and institutions of the church. It is to be hoped that it may run through many editions, and that those who read it once will read it again and again.

THE EARLY DAYS OF CHRISTIANITY, by *F. W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S.* (London: Cassells.) In these two capacious volumes Canon Farrar completes the task he commenced twelve years since. He has now traversed the whole ground covered by the New Testament;

and in his *Life of Christ*, his *Life of St. Paul*, and the present work, he has given us a virtual commentary on all the Christian Scriptures. That is no slight task to have achieved in the scanty and broken leisure of so brief and laborious a term, and could not possibly have been carried through had it not been preceded by many years of study both of the Greek Testament itself and of all that throws light upon it. We offer him our congratulations and our Well done! For, on the whole, the work is thoroughly well done, done with growing excellence, though it is not without some serious blemishes, one of which however has in all probability largely conduced to its popularity and effect. His avowed object has been "to furnish English readers with a companion, partly historic and partly expository, to the whole of the New Testament"; and in our deliberate judgment it would be impossible for the ordinary English reader to find any other work which, for him, would throw such a volume of light on the New Testament times and writings, or which treats of them in a broader and more catholic spirit; while the very style of this historical exposition, bitterly as it has been criticized and open as it is to criticism from the classical point of view, has commended it and will continue to commend it to thousands who would not have been at the pains to read it had it been couched in language more simple and severe. Certainly much of the declamation against Canon Farrar's "rhetoric" has been more false and exaggerated in style even—to say nothing of its lack of justice as well as generosity—than anything to be found in the whole compass of his work. His style lies much nearer to that of Lord Macaulay—it would be easy to pick out sentences by the score which Macaulay might have written—than to that of "*The Daily Telegraph*." Another critic who compared his popularity to that of the late "ecclesiastical gipsy of Crown Court" only proved himself a wit on the hypothesis that the essence of wit lies in bringing things utterly unlike into unexpected juxtaposition; while that other critic who argued that, because Dr. Farrar was a Cathedral Canon, he could not be expected "to give out opinions widely divergent from the current creeds," not only implied a dishonesty in him of which it may be hoped—despite the maxim that "men suspect in others what they are conscious of in themselves"—that even his critic would not be guilty, but also betrayed a strange ignorance of the fact that at all events *this* Cathedral Canon has done precisely that which,

according to him, no "good ecclesiastic" would venture to do. Surely it would be wiser to recognize the immense power of "rhetoric," however much we may personally dislike it, and to rejoice that by this or by any other means truer and broader conceptions of the New Testament history and scriptures are being carried into minds which would not otherwise have received them, than to attempt to check their progress by censures as unjust as bitter. And we are bold to say that it will be by the two volumes before us that many thousands of English readers will get their first large and true conceptions of the history of the Church during the latter half of the first century, and of the general intention and purport of the writings of St. Peter, St. James, St. Jude, St. John, and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The exposition of many of these Scriptures is indeed so close, scholarly, and detailed as to make it a valuable commentary on them to far more than the general reader; while the comprehensive view here given of the currents of religious thought and emotion by which the Church was swayed in those early years will be a new and wonderful revelation to myriads of those who owe nearly all they know of the New Testament to the sermons they have heard on isolated texts.

THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS: ITS DOCTRINE AND ETHICS, *by E. W. Dale, M.A.* (London: Hodder and Stoughton.) This is in all respects a far abler book than the Lectures on the Epistle to the Hebrews which Mr. Dale published some seventeen or eighteen years ago. It is marked by a rare knowledge of men and of what is in them, by sustained vigour of thought, profound insight into the larger meanings of Scripture, broad and generous handling of truth, and a singularly ardent and stedfast glow of moral earnestness in the application of religious truth to the plain duties of practical life. Nothing can well be finer than his treatment of the theory of the Atonement in Lecture V., or of the *solidarité*, not of the human race alone, but of the entire universe of being in Lecture VI., or of the finely wrought out distinction between Inspiration and Revelation in Lecture VIII., or of the Law of Heredity in Lecture XI. A special and pervading beauty of the whole work is the power with which he vindicates and explains St. Paul's loftiest philosophy—never loftier than in this Epistle—by appealing to the facts of Christian consciousness, and shews that the

Apostle in his sublimest flights was but generalizing a spiritual experience which all who truly believe in Christ share with him.

The power, freedom, and (occasionally) humour with which he writes may be inferred perhaps from one or two brief citations. Nothing in the whole series of Lectures is more clever and amusing than his handling of Mr. Matthew Arnold in Lecture II., where, after citing that critic's well-known censures on Calvinism and Arminianism, and pointing out that St. Paul himself is equally open to those censures, he proceeds thus:—"Mr. Arnold's real controversy is neither with Calvinistic Puritanism nor with Arminian Methodism, but with religion itself. He is a moralist. To him conduct is three-fourths of human life; and religion is 'ethics heightened, enkindled, lit up by feeling,' morality touched with emotion! He thinks that 'the paramount virtue of religion is that it has *lighted up* morality; that it has supplied the emotion and inspiration needful for carrying the sage along the narrow way perfectly, for carrying the ordinary man along it at all.' *He remains faithful to the old Astronomy: to him the world of human conduct is the centre of all the spheres, and around it revolve as useful and subordinate orbs the august objects of religious faith; the sun shines to ripen the harvests which grow in earthly fields; the stars move through the infinite depths of heaven to guide the course of the sailor, perhaps to touch the fancy of the poet.* Religion declines to accept this theory of the universe; to religion God is the centre of all things, and God is greater than all things." (Pp. 36, 7.)

Or, to take him in a graver yet higher vein, let us quote a paragraph or two from the noble discourse on Ephesians ii. 10.

"But we are God's *workmanship created anew in Christ Jesus*. The branch is in the vine, though as yet the leaf has hardly escaped from its sheath and the flower is only timidly opening itself to the sun and air. We are God's *workmanship*. The Divine idea is moving toward its crowning perfection. Never let us forget that the life which has come to us is an immortal life. At best we are but seedlings on this side of death. We are not yet planted out under the open heavens and in the soil which is to be our eternal home. Here in this world the life we have received in our new creation has neither time nor space to reveal the infinite wealth of its resources; you must wait for the world to come to see the noble trees of righteousness fling out their mighty branches to the

sky, and clothe themselves in the glorious beauty of their immortal foliage.

"And yet the history of Christendom contains the proof that even here a new and alien life has begun to shew itself among mankind : a life not alien indeed, for it is the true life of our race, but it is unlike what had been in the world before. The saints of every church, divided by national differences, divided by their creeds, divided by fierce ecclesiastical rivalries, are still strangely akin. Voice answers to voice across the centuries which separate them ; they tell in different tongues the same wonderful discovery of a Divine kingdom ; they translate every man for himself into his own life the same Divine law. We of obscurer rank and narrower powers read their lives, and we know that we and they are akin ; we listen to their words, and are thrilled by the accent of home. Their songs are on our lips ; they seem to have been written for us by men who knew the secret we wanted to utter better than we know it ourselves. Their confessions of sin are a fuller expression of our own sorrow and trouble than we ourselves have ever been able to make. Their life is our life. As men draw to men everywhere rather than to creatures of inferior rank, naturally assuming the brotherhood which springs from their common nature, so we draw to Christian men everywhere. They and we are brethren, whatever their church, whatever their creed. We and they belong to a new race. A new type of character has been created. Christ lives on in those whose life is rooted in Him. It is not his teaching merely, it is not the force of his example merely, that has contributed this new moral element in the history of mankind. It is wonderful with how little Christian knowledge this new type of character is possible. The instincts of the life received from Him count for more than mere intellectual acquaintance with the Christian creed. Concerning some things there is no need to give teaching to Christian men, as there is no need to teach a primrose how to blossom or a blackbird how to sing. They are *taught of God to love one another* ; they are *God's workmanship created in Christ Jesus unto good works*."

Those who relish such strains as these will find them in great abundance in Mr. Dale's Lectures on Ephesians, which are really a valuable exposition of one of the most philosophical of the Epistles.

ISAIAH, AN IDEAL BIOGRAPHY.

II. UNDER JOTHAM, B.C. 758-741.

IT might at first have seemed natural that the solemn call of Isaiah's vision should have been followed at once by his entering on the prophetic activity to which it summoned him. As a fact, however, it was not so followed. There are no traces of his having stepped forward as a preacher to the people during the reign of Jotham. It may be that at that early age he felt that he had little chance of obtaining a hearing, and that men would have "despised the youth" of the boy-prophet. It may be that, like St. Paul when he went into Arabia after his conversion, he felt the need of a time of discipline and preparation before he entered on his task. The question must have occurred to him, how had it come to pass that his countrymen were in such evil case. By what steps had they been led on in their downward path to that spiritual deadness, the description of which had been burnt in upon his soul? To answer that question it was necessary to study the history of the past. The long reign of Uzziah, stretching over nearly two generations of men, presented a definite period during which that deterioration of national character had been in progress. He felt, as others called to a like work have felt, that the foundations of prophecy must be laid in history. He set to work accordingly to write the history of that reign. In 2 Chronicles xxvi. we have manifestly an epitome of that book, dealing with outward facts rather than with underlying principles. One glimpse of those principles, as they presented themselves to Isaiah, we have perhaps in the state-

ment that the earlier part of Uzziah's reign was better and nobler than the latter. Then he had sought the Lord, and had followed the guidance of one (the prophet Zechariah) who "had understanding in the visions of God." He had that noblest element of a true ruler, the insight which discerns good from evil, and right from wrong, and so "God made him to prosper" (2 Chron. xxvi. 5). Then the prosperity which followed on his wise and righteous rule became a snare to him. He delighted in all the outward signs of material wealth and military strength. He loved husbandry, and the cattle and the vineyards of the royal domains were famous far and wide. Jerusalem became, or seemed to become, impregnable. Towers and walls were planted at suitable stations for strategic use. A military conscription was brought into play, till the armies of Judah, with their 2,600 officers and 307,500 soldiers, seemed to compete in number with those of the mightier monarchies of the East. New engines of war, catapults and the like, were introduced as artillery of defence. The walls of the old Philistine cities, Gath and Jabneh, were broken down, and new cities were built and garrisoned by the king's troops. The Arabians and the Mehunims were subject to him. "The name of Uzziah spread far abroad, even to the entering in of Egypt; for he was marvellously helped till he was strong" (2 Chron. xxvi. 9-15). The effect of this on the king's personal character was seen in the daring act of impiety of which I have already spoken, and on which the Chronicler concentrates his attention. To Isaiah the effect on the character of the people seemed hardly less disastrous. It fostered in them that temper of self-asserting arrogance which we have learnt to know, in the recent political history of France and England, as Chauvinism, or Jingoism. Men boasted that they had the horses and the chariots, and the money too (ii. 7), as if these, rather than "plain living and high thinking," or, in Isaiah's truer

language, "righteousness and the fear of Jehovah," were the secret of a nation's strength. With this, as the natural accompaniments, there came greed of gain, official corruption in high and low, a dominant sensuality, women no longer mothers in Israel, rearing up their sons in the fear of the Lord, but adopting the toilet and the morals of the harlots in the cities of the heathen, wasting on their jewels and their perfumes what might have served for the maintenance of the widow and the orphan (iii. 16-26). As a writer of history, Isaiah chronicled the facts, even the statistics, of Uzziah's reign. When that work was done, probably towards the end of Jotham's reign, he drew aside the curtain and laid bare to the gaze of men the festering sores that lay beneath that outward splendour. The first five chapters of his writings as they now meet us form a continuous commentary, perhaps rather a sermon, of which his history supplied the text. The king had "loved husbandry and planted vineyards," and men were told that "the vineyard of the Lord of hosts should be laid waste, and that briers and thorns should cover it" (v. 1-7). He had gloried in the fortresses with which he had strengthened Zion, and the prophet declared that the day of the Lord of hosts was coming "upon every high tower and upon every fenced wall" (ii. 15). Men had exulted in their commerce, and the new arts which they owed to commerce, and therefore that day was to be upon "all ships of Tarshish, and upon all pleasant pictures" (ii. 16). For the daughters of Zion, mincing as they went, there should be "foulness instead of fragrance, and baldness instead of plaited and crisped locks, and the burning of the brands which marked them as the slaves of their conquerors instead of beauty" (iii. 16-26).

In these first five chapters of the present collection of his writings we have, it would seem, the first appearance of Isaiah as a public teacher. They were probably read

openly in the gate of the city, or in some conference of friends, and placed in the hands of copyists for such a measure of publication as their art could give them. They were, in part, a call to repentance, a denunciation of existing evils, an announcement of the certainty of judgment, and so they were the first conspicuous step in his labours as a prophet. But they were something more than this. As Burke's "Thoughts on the present Discontents" defined his position and determined his career in the politics of the Georgian Era, so did this discourse determine the position and career of Isaiah among the prophets, *i.e.* among the orators and statesmen, of his time. They announced the line he meant to take in foreign and domestic policy. To work for a thorough-going reform in the judicial administration of the country (i. 17); for an economical reform in all households, from the king's palace downwards; to call men and women to something nobler than their dinners and their toilets (v. 8-12); to protest against the influence of women and children, concubines and minions (what we should call the *harem*-influence), in the king's counsels (iii. 12),—that was what he set before himself as the task and business of his political, and therefore of his prophetic, life. But beyond this he had to put his finger on a yet deeper plague-spot. What shocked and pained him most was the hollowness of the people's worship, the practical atheism which veiled itself in the guise of an orthodox decorum. There was no traceable connexion between their religion and right doing. Sacrifices were offered, and solemn feasts observed, by crowds who did not repent of a single sin, or abandon a single vice. He could in part lay bare the evil by direct denunciations like those of Chapter i. 10-15. He found what seemed to him a more effective remedy, in emphasizing throughout his preaching, two Divine Names, each of which had a special significance in its relation to the other. The God whom the people worshipped was at once "Jehovah

Sabaoth," the Lord of hosts, of the armies of earth and heaven, and the "Holy One of Israel." The Almighty (this is St. John's equivalent for the Lord of hosts, Rev. iv. 8), was also the All-holy. No worship that was divorced from holiness was acceptable to Him. The use of the latter name was indeed the characteristic note of Israel's teaching. It irritated and galled the formalist and the hypocrite, and they sneered at him, though for widely different reasons, as Danton sneered at Robespierre's *Être Suprême*.¹ They would not rest until they forced him to leave off harping on that note, and had "made the Holy One of Israel to cease from before them" (xxx. 10). In their arrogant defiance they taunted the prophet, after the manner of the scoffers of a later time (2 Pet. iii. 4), with the delayed fulfilment of his predictions, and bade the "counsel" of that Holy One "draw nigh, that they might see it" (v. 19).

Over and above this entrance on his public work, the sixteen years of Jotham's reign were memorable for Isaiah's marriage. That marriage was almost as intimately connected with his work as a prophet as had been that of a contemporary prophet of the Northern kingdom, whose history could not have been unknown to him. He was not indeed prompted, as Hosea had been, to take a "wife of whoredoms," and to bring up children upon whom rested the brand of their mother's shame, that so he might learn, by the intensity of a husband's compassion for the unfaithful wife, something of the pity and long-suffering of Jehovah for the people (Hos. i. 3). To him it was given to find a wife like-minded with himself, a prophetess even as he was a prophet (viii. 3), one of those nobler types of Hebrew womanhood of which we find examples in Miriam and Deborah and Huldah. It is not, perhaps, altogether fantastic to trace in some passages of his first published prophecies the influence,

¹ "Tais-toi donc, avec votre Être Suprême tu commences m'ennuyer."

direct or indirect, of such a wife—her knowledge of the minutiae of the toilet-luxuries and jewelry of the daughters of Zion (iii. 16–24), her indignant scorn of their frivolity and vanity, her pitying glance at the time when instead of being wooed and courted, they should themselves be suitors, seven women hanging on the skirts of one man's garment, and entreating him, though he could give them nothing else, to give them a home and to take away their reproach (iv. 1). We may, perhaps, read in the latest of Isaiah's writings the old man's recollections of that bright and happy time: "As a young man marrieth a virgin, so shall thy sons marry thee; and as the bridegroom rejoiceth over his bride, so shall thy God rejoice over thee" (lxii. 5).

Different as the conditions of the two cases were, however, the history of Hosea and Gomer had taught Isaiah how the incidents of home life might be turned to account in his prophetic work, how the children whom God gave him might be "signs and wonders" to the people whom he found slow to listen to other forms of teaching (viii. 18). Those names, Jezreel, Lo-Ammi (=not my people), Lo-ruhamah (=there is no mercy), with the subsequent withdrawal of the negatives, had summed up the message of Hosea (Hos. i. ii.). When a son was born to the two prophet-parents, Isaiah was led to give a name to his first-born which was an epitome both of the terrors and the hopes which entered into his first message and flowed out of his first great vision. *Shear-Jashub*—"a remnant shall return"—that name spoke of defeat and desolation and exile, of the survival of those who were counted worthy to survive, of their return from the land of their captivity to carry on the history of their nation. It summed up the history of the two centuries that followed.

As the reign of Jotham drew to a close, we may reasonably think of Isaiah as already known and recognized as a prophet. He had "disciples" who gathered round him

(viii. 16), and looked to him for guidance and for counsel. In the scanty records of that reign in 2 Chronicles xxvii. we may trace his influence even on the king's conduct. "He did that which was right in the sight of the Lord," following in the footsteps of his father in all but that last insane impiety of the assumption of the priesthood. He "became mighty because he prepared his heart in the ways of God" (2 Chron. xxvii. 2-6). Isaiah, however, saw too clearly to cheat himself with the hope that this was the beginning of a national reformation. It was probably, as we have seen, during this period that he drew up the "great indictment" with which his prophetic volume now opens. "The people did yet corruptly," and the king was gathered to his fathers at the early age of forty-one.

Reserving the evidence which seems to me to make the hypothesis a probable one, I will content myself for the present with saying that I find reason for believing that Isaiah's work as a historian and a teacher brought him, as might naturally be expected, into prominence; that those who were about the king, and the king himself, honoured and consulted him. I find reasons even for thinking that he filled, in relation to the training of the youthful Ahaz, a position analogous to that which Nathan had filled in relation to that of Solomon (2 Sam. xii. 25; 1 Kings i. 22-38), and that the king followed his counsels in choosing a wife for his successor.

III. UNDER AHAZ, B.C. 741-726.

The reign of the young king who now came to the throne at the age of twenty or twenty-five,¹ fulfilled all the worst anticipations of Isaiah's forecast. He threw himself with an eagerness which had not been known in Judah

¹ "Twenty" in the Hebrew. The LXX. moved, probably, by the fact that Hezekiah was nine years old at the time of his father's accession, give twenty-five.

since the days of Solomon, into the idol-worship of the nations round. The ritual of Baalim and Moloch and Ashtaroah, and the Asherah, or "grove" (probably a phallic *cultus* like that of the *Lingam* of India), reappeared in all their cruelty and foulness. The king's own child, it lies in the nature of the case that it was probably the first son born after his accession, was made to pass through the fire in the horrid worship of the Ammonite deity (2 Kings xvi. 3; 2 Chron. xxviii. 3). All old forms of idolatry were resuscitated, and every high place and hill, and every green tree, became the scene of a worship which made the people more and more forgetful of the Holy One of Israel. As if this were not enough, the king, irritated, we may believe, by the protests of the servants of Jehovah, set himself in direct antagonism to the priests, the prophets, and the Temple of the national faith. The doors of the house of Jehovah were shut up, its sacred vessels profaned and destroyed. Its treasures were used, a little later on, as a bribe to purchase the assistance of the Assyrian king (2 Chron. xxviii. 21).

Judgment came as the natural consequence of these acts of apostasy. The neighbouring nations, Syria and Israel, who, in their desire to form a great confederacy against Assyria, had threatened Jotham with hostilities, because, guided probably by Isaiah's counsels, he refused to join them, watched the opportunity presented by a king who was thus alienating the bravest and truest of his people, and entered into an alliance against him. The armies of Pekah the son of Remaliah, and Rezin, king of Syria, were united in a great host, and encamped against Jerusalem (2 Kings xvi. 5; 2 Chron. xxviii. 5, 6; Isa. vii. 1). They brought with them one of the ambitious princes of the time, the son of Tabeal (the name is found in an Assyrian tablet as among the allies of Rezin and Samaria), whom they intended to place upon the throne of Judah after deposing

the representative of the house of David (vii. 6). The prospect before Ahaz was dark and gloomy enough, all the more so as there was treachery within the walls of Jerusalem as well as an invading army without. There were those, probably even in the king's council-chamber, and certainly among the people, who hated and despised him, and "rejoiced in Rezin and Remaliah's son" (viii. 6). Ahaz saw no hope of safety except in turning to the help of the great king, the king of Assyria, Tiglath Pileser. His grandfather Uzziah had acknowledged the suzerainty of that empire. Why should he not call on its ruler to protect him against the confederate kings, who, like himself, were vassals of the Assyrian? An embassy was in contemplation, perhaps had been already sent, carrying the treasure which was to be the purchase-money of this protection. What part was Isaiah to take in the midst of all these complications? He could not bring himself, with the discontented populace, to wish for the success of the invaders, or, with the king and his counsellors, to invite the assistance of the power he had long dreaded, ruthless and overwhelming in its strength. Like all statesmen of the loftiest type, he stood apart and aloof from others. He was as solitary in the politics of Jerusalem as Dante was in the politics of Florence. The evil on both sides was, that men were trusting in an arm of flesh, in miserable intrigues and alliances, and not in the eternal laws of justice and of truth—not in Jehovah Sabaoth as a Power that made for righteousness. He, at all events, could not remain silent. Accompanied by his son, probably still in his early boyhood, whose oracular name had made him famous even in his infancy, the prophet made his way to the district of the city where the king was giving directions for the work of strengthening the fortifications and securing the aqueducts that supplied the city with water (chap. vii.), as Hezekiah did afterwards (2 Chron. xxxii. 3, 4; Isa. xxii. 11). He came

at first as clothed with the authority of one who had been the adviser of the king's father, and possibly in early days the instructor of the king himself, with words of encouragement and comfort: "Take heed, and be quiet; fear not, neither be fainthearted." The sentence of failure was written on the schemes of the confederates: "Thus saith the Lord God, It shall not stand, neither shall it come to pass." The smoking firebrands should burn themselves out, but the conflagration should not spread to the House of David. And not only should the immediate danger pass away, but the king was told that the Northern kingdom, of which he stood in dread, was already entering on its last stage of decadence. It would grow weaker and ever weaker, till in threescore years and five it should be no more a people.¹ He delivered his message, and, instead of being met with thanks, was received with looks of a sullen incredulity. Even that did not baffle him. In the power of his inspiration, he offered a sign "in the heavens above, or in the earth beneath," such as Samuel had offered to the people (1 Sam. xii. 17), or the man of God from Judah to Jeroboam (1 Kings xiii. 3), thunder from the clear sky, or sudden darkness, or the healing of the sick, or the cleansing of the leper. The king met that offer with a reply which was half hypocrisy and half sarcasm. Was not the temper that asks for a sign precisely that which the higher teaching of the Law and of the prophets had condemned? He, for his part, would leave such "tempting of the Lord" to the prophet who was tempting him. Isaiah's answer shews that the sneer had stung him into a righteous indignation. The House of David, as represented by Ahaz, were wearying not men only, but God, with their perverseness—all the more

¹ Historically the prediction received its fulfilment when Esarhaddon (circa. B.C. 678) brought his Babylonian and Chaldean colonists and settled them in Samaria.

detestable because it simulated piety. But he would give the king a sign, though he declined to choose one. It should have all the notes of a true sign, should be beyond human foresight or control, should not be thrown into the far future, should be capable of verification at no distant period. "*The bride*" (Isaiah's prophetess-wife, still in the bloom of youth—possibly, as some have conjectured, a second wife, and, at the time, literally a "bride"—may well have been known even then by that endearing title) "conceives, and bears a son, and shall call his name Immanuel." Isaiah's first son had been a sign and wonder. His second should be so in a yet higher measure, and with a deeper and diviner meaning. His birth was foretold. The name which was to be given to him was to bear witness ("with-us-God") of a Divine Guide and Protector present with his people.¹ It suggested, at least, the thought of

¹ I do not undertake here to discuss the various interpretations of the mysterious words. I am, of course, aware that that which I have adopted differs from the traditional interpretation which has its starting-point in St. Matthew's Gospel. On the other hand, (1) the definite article in the Hebrew implies a reference to some woman known to Isaiah and his hearers, and not to an unknown maiden in a far-off future. (2) The promise of a supernatural birth not to be fulfilled for seven or eight centuries, would have been no "sign," in the prophet's sense of the word, to the king of Judah and his people. (3) There can be no question that the word translated "virgin" means strictly a young woman who has reached the age of marriage, and may be applied to a young wife as well as to a maiden (Delitzsch, and Cheyne, on Isaiah vii. 14). (4) The analogy of Isaiah's prophetic use of his other children makes it probable that this fell under the same category as a sign. (5) It may be noted that when referring to these very children as "signs and wonders" (viii. 18), he does not speak of them as two, as was customary when there were only two (comp. "the two sons of Eli," 1 Sam. ii. 34; iv. 4, 11), but uses the plural. (6) A prophecy of the mystery of the Incarnation at such a time seems out of harmony with the historical occasion, and with the immediate context as to the "butter and honey" food of the Immanuel child. (7) There are no traces of this passage ever having suggested the idea of a virgin-born Messiah to Isaiah himself, or to later prophets, or to pre-Christian Jewish interpreters. (8) St. Matthew's application of the passage stands on the same footing as his use of the words, "Himself took our infirmities and bare our sicknesses," of Isaiah liii. 4 (Matt. viii. 17). It was not, as some have said, the prophecy that suggested a mythical fulfilment, but the facts of the case that, as in the case of the potter's field (Matt. xxvii. 9), prompted an interpretation that would fit in to them. (9) It must be remembered that

some yet fuller manifestation of that Presence. The yet unborn child was the embodiment of that thought for father and for mother. And his forecast went beyond the child's birth. The infancy of the young Immanuel should be passed in a dark and troublous time, when the culture of the corn-fields and the vineyards and oliveyards should cease, and they should be covered with briers and thorns; when the clotted milk and honey of a nomadic people, who were not tillers of the soil, should take the place of the bread and the wine and oil that strengthened men's hearts and made them glad and joyful (comp. vii. 21-24). But this should be for a short season only. Before the child "should know to refuse the evil and to choose the good," should reach *i.e.* the age of choice and will and conscience, the land which Ahaz hated, the land of Samaria and Damascus, should be "forsaken of both her kings." Practically, of course, in offering this "sign" to the unbelieving king, Isaiah was asking for a delay of something under a year before he took any further action in the direction of the Assyrian alliance, from which the prophet sought to dissuade him. Ahaz, however, adhered to his resolve with the persistence of a dogged silence, and the prophet, turning from the defeat of the king's enemies, draws aside the veil of the nearer and more disastrous future. The king of Assyria should come, not as an ally, but as a conqueror. That invasion should stir up the jealousy and intervention of other powers, and Judah should be the battle-field of their wars. The "fly" from the rivers of Egypt should meet the "bee" from the land of Assyria in the fair fields of the country round Jerusalem (vii. 1-20).

this is the only reference to this prophecy of Isaiah in the New Testament. St. Luke, who gives the Gospel of the Infancy, does not allude to it, nor is it cited by St. Paul, or St. Peter, or the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, where it would have been natural that they should cite it, had they accepted what has become the traditional interpretation.

The interview ended. The months passed on, and the expected son was born, and named as Isaiah had said he should be named. To that child Immanuel, Isaiah looked as the representative of an ideal which yet he did not realize. He was the witness of an Immanuel greater than himself, his very name the symbol of a Divine Presence dwelling in the midst of men. As such Isaiah could speak of the land as being his land, the land of "With-us-God" (viii. 8). That name was, as it were, the watchword on the banner which he raised against all hostile confederacies and alliances. "It shall come to nought; it shall not stand," for "With us is God," Immanuel (viii. 10). Yet another birth, however, was needed to make up the triad of symbolic children. In this case the name was solemnly registered before specially chosen witnesses, nine months prior to the birth. The new name was yet more mysterious than the former. Maher-shalal-hash-baz, "*Speed spoil—haste prey.*" The announcement was made with every element of solemn publicity. The name was written in large characters, such as in Greek we should call *uncials*, and on a roll or tablet of more than the usual size. "Faithful witnesses" were chosen to attest its authenticity and its date. One of these was "Uriah the priest," probably the high-priest who afterwards complied with an order which Ahaz gave him as to the new altar after the pattern of that at Damascus (2 Kings xvi. 15, 16), the other, Zechariah, probably also a priest, and perhaps intimately connected, as will be seen hereafter, with Isaiah's hopes for the future. And the name was associated with the thought of a more rapid fulfilment than in the case of Immanuel. There the *terminus ad quem* was the time or the child's attaining the age of the knowledge of good and evil. Here the limit was that of the boy's first utterance of the names of Father and of Mother (viii. 1-4). As the prophet's horizon grew clearer he declared that before

that time the riches of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria should be carried away before the king of Assyria.

The thoughts of the prophet were carried on, it would seem, beyond even this threefold experience. If the birth of each child of his had coincided with a message from God of glad tidings and deliverance, what might not there be of fulness of blessing from yet another birth more wondrous than any that had been given to him? What if from that root of the house of David that seemed now all rotten and decayed, there should one day come a true Immanuel, who should unite in Himself all names and attributes of sovereignty: "Wonderful, Counsellor, the God-hero, the Father of the Ages, the Prince of Peace" (ix. 6). Throwing himself, as in vision, into that future, which from Isaiah's stand-point—to whom, as to other prophets, it was not given to know the times and seasons when the promise should be fulfilled (1 Pet. i. 11; Acts i. 7)—might be either near or far, the prophet seemed to hear the exulting sound of the nation's joy: "Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder." It was the first germ of that Messianic ideal which was afterwards to develop itself in many different phases and with ever-increasing clearness in the prophet's teaching. Its first aspect was determined in part by the circumstances of the time, in part by the language of that Melchizedek psalm which at an earlier date had, as we have seen, exercised so profound an influence on his life.¹ The child that was to sit upon the throne of David was to be a warrior-king, even as David himself had been, and as the Melchizedek priest was painted, heaping up the bodies of the slain, and drinking of the brook by the way, as if weary of the slaughter (Ps. cx. 6, 7), but the deliverance which he was to accomplish was to be something more than that of the confused noise of battle and "garments rolled in

¹ See the first part of this Biography, in the *EXPOSITOR* for January.

blood." The spear and shield and weapons of war should be heaped together, as the spoil of Oreb and Zeb, of Zeba and Salmana, had been in the day of Midian (Judg. vii. 25 ; viii. 21-26), and should become as fuel for the flames, and the reign of the victorious king should be one of righteousness and peace, of judgment and of justice (ix. 1-7). He was, as it were, to unite the characteristic features both of David and of Solomon.

Shear-jashub, Immanuel, Maher-shalal-hash-baz—we ask ourselves what became of the three children who were thus ushered into the world with so strange a significance, whose very names were "signs and wonders" to the people. Of their after history we know nothing. They come like shadows and so depart. But if the inference is correct which connects the prophet-father with the priests of Anathoth, then we must remember that the sons were priests also, and they may thus have helped to perpetuate the Messianic traditions which were afterwards to reappear with fresh developments, both of form and substance, in Isaiah's great successor. Whether there or elsewhere, even in the absence of those gifts of inspiration which, like those of genius, are seldom inherited by descent, they were silent witnesses to kings, priests, people, in the city, in the Temple, in the country, of a captivity which had not yet come, and of the return of but a remnant from that captivity ; of the doom of destruction which was, in the long run of history, the end of every kingdom built upon violence and wrong, of the ever-abiding presence of God with his people, to be manifested in many varying methods, degrees and forms, culminating, at last, in the revelation of that Presence, as it had never been revealed before, in the person of the heir of the House of David, a hero-God mighty in battle, and yet also the Prince of Peace, upon whom should rest "the Spirit of Jehovah, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, and the fear of the Lord," in

whom should be manifested at once the severity of a righteous judge, and the pity of an all-embracing charity, who should have "faithfulness for the girdle of his loins, and righteousness as the girdle of his reins" (xi. 1-5).

The absence of any chronological notes to the greater part of Isaiah's writings makes it difficult to determine the range of his prophetic activity during the remaining years of the reign of Ahaz. The success of Pekah and Rezin in the great pitched battle which was fought in Judah, and in which Maaseiah, the king's son, probably his destined heir and successor, was slain, and the capture of a vast host of men, women, and children, who were led as prisoners to Samaria, must have seemed at first to falsify the prophet's confident assurance. In the restoration of the captives, under the influence of the prophet Oded (2 Chron. xxviii. 9), we may, perhaps, trace the influence of the respect felt by all true members of the prophetic order for the two great representatives of that order, Micah and Isaiah, of whom the former, as we know (Mic. i. 1), prophesied concerning Samaria as well as Jerusalem, and must, therefore, have been known to his brethren in that region. It is, of course, clear that Isaiah exercised little or no influence on the mind of Ahaz. The king had taken his own line, had entered, in spite of Isaiah's warnings, into an alliance with the king of Assyria, and the result had been what Isaiah had foretold. He made the ignominious profession of servitude: "I am thy servant, and thy son," and plundered the treasures of the Temple to purchase the king's support. Tiglath Pileser "distressed him, and helped him not." He had to attend as a vassal king upon the great monarch at Damascus, and saw the treasures and population of that city carried far off into the northern province of Kir (2 Kings xvi. 5-9).¹ Even that lesson was lost upon him, and

¹ An inscription of the Assyrian king gives a list of the vassal kings who were

while at Damascus, with that taste for the outer forms of culture which we have learnt to know as æstheticism, and which history presents so often, as in Nero and Leo X. and Louis XIV., as the accompaniment of an effeminate and ignoble nature, he was attracted by the altar which he found in the temple of Rimmon as being more stately and magnificent than that which Solomon had placed in the Temple of Jerusalem. He found a high-priest, the very man whom the prophet had called as a "faithful witness" (the fact has to be remembered as we think of Isaiah's work), servile enough to construct a new altar after the designs which Ahaz had sent him, and the old time-honoured brazen altar was removed from its place, and reserved for the rare occasions on which the king was pleased to consult Jehovah, while king, priests and people alike offered their daily sacrifices and sprinkled the blood upon the new altar, not, we may believe, without the idolatrous emblems that told the tale of its origin (2 Kings xvi. 10-16). As with Solomon and Ahab, so with Ahaz, this was obviously the result of the *harem* influence to which the weak unstable king willingly yielded. To the prophet it was another instance of the temper that pleased itself in "the children of strangers" (ii. 6), of the evils of a time "when children are princes and babes are rulers" (iii. 4). But even thus the measure of degradation was not yet full. The prediction that the king of Assyria should sweep over the land did not wait for its fulfilment till the invasion of Sargon or Sennacherib. Tiglath Pileser (or possibly his successor Shalmaneser) appeared at Jerusalem in his character of suzerain, and the stately colonnade which led from the king's palace to the Temple, and which had witnessed on every Sabbath the procession of the king and his household, was in part demolished, in part reconstructed, the gates

present at this gathering. It adds to the irony of the situation, that we find among them both Pekah of Israel and Ahaz of Judah.

which opened into the Temple being closed up, in order to serve as a passage by which the king of Assyria might enter into the palace (2 Kings xvi. 18). There is no trace in the rest of the king's career even of a late repentance. And when he died, the scorn and loathing which was the natural consequence of his evil and oppressive reign was not slow to shew itself. They "brought him not into the sepulchres of the kings of Israel" (2 Chron. xxviii. 27). He was buried, if not "with the burial of an ass," yet without the stately funeral which followed usually upon a king's death.

We can hardly think, however, that the prophet, who was so prominent during the early part of the reign of Ahaz, was inactive till its close. The body of hearers and disciples (viii. 16) probably became stronger and more numerous. The issue of the war with Syria and Israel, and the disasters that followed on the alliance with Assyria, must have spread his fame far and wide, not in Judah only, but among the neighbouring nations. To the reign of Ahaz we may assign probably the greater part of the prophecies that lie between Chapter vii. and Chapter xiii. The Assyrian invader of Chapter x. is probably Tiglath Pileser or his successor, and the march from Aiath to Jerusalem is that of the visit in the character of suzerain which has been referred to above (x. 28-32). To the same period, not, as we shall see, without a special starting-point in the history of the time, belongs the vision of a golden age, the good time coming, of Chapter xi. But during those later years that preceded the wretched king's death, the work of the prophet took a wider range. He looked out upon the nations round, and saw what part each was about to play in the next act of the great drama of the world's history. It is even probable that, owing to his fame as a prophet, he was consulted, then as afterwards, by "the messengers of those nations" as to their coming fate (xiv. 32). They sent to him as one who could forecast the future, and give them counsel as to

averting the coming evils, after the manner of the time, as Balak sent to Balaam, as the Athenians, at a great crisis in their history, sent to Epimenides. At a later period, probably towards the close of Hezekiah's reign, these "burdens," or "oracles" were collected together, as in Chapters xiii.-xxiii, and formed, as it were, a separate volume of the prophet's works.¹ The "burden of Babylon," which stands first in the order of arrangement, was probably the last in order of time, owing its position, like the Epistle to the Romans in the collected writings of St. Paul, to the prominence of its subject-matter, and will therefore come under our notice in a later section; and most of the others (I must not now comment on them in detail) probably belong to the reign of Hezekiah. One, however, is definitely fixed by the prophet himself, or by the disciple who edited the volume, as uttered in the last year of the reign of Ahaz,² and a brief notice of it, as shewing the character of the prophet's work at this period, will be a fit conclusion of the present paper.

The oracle in question deals with "Palestina," *i.e.* with the country of the Philistines. The relations of Judah with that people during the two preceding reigns had been of a somewhat peculiar nature, and there were, as we shall see, special reasons for the interest which the prophet took in them. Under Uzziah, as has been already stated, they were subdued, and the fortifications of Gath and Jabneh and Ashdod levelled with the ground (2 Chron. xxvi. 6). The subjugation continued, we cannot doubt, under

¹ The view taken of these "oracles," is, it is submitted, probable in itself. It is confirmed by the fact that a like series of oracles was despatched by Jeremiah, through the messengers who had come from neighbouring nations to Zedekiah. They carried back with them the "burdens" of the false prophets who spake smooth things. The true prophet throws, as it were, his written utterance into their letter-bag, by way of counterpoise (Jer. xxvii. 8).

² It is significant that the formula is the same as that of vi. 1. "In the year that king Ahaz died." I infer, as before, that the actual date was shortly before the death.

Jotham, who "prospered in all his ways" and his wars, and was able even to reduce the much stronger nation of the Ammonites to the position of tributaries (2 Chron. xxvii. 5). Of their influence on the religious life of the people as stimulating the passion for soothsaying and divination I have already spoken, and the natural result was that Isaiah looked on them with an undisguised antipathy. To him they were not only enemies, but rivals. The wizards that "peeped and muttered" (*i.e.* whispered in the low weird falsetto of their incantations), and drew the people after them when they should have been listening to "the law and the testimony" as expounded by Isaiah (viii. 19), were mainly of their training. Naturally they took advantage of the weakness of Ahaz, and made inroads and took towns in the low country to the south of Judah (2 Chron. xxviii. 18). The insurrection was so far successful; but it was one thing to defeat Ahaz himself, and quite another to resist him when he was backed, as he was after a time, by the whole strength of the Assyrian armies. The Philistines were accordingly reduced again to submission,¹ and they appear with the Syrians (obviously after Tiglath Pileser's capture of Damascus) as taking part, it lies in the nature of the case, by compulsion, in the attack on Ephraim and Samaria (ix. 12). It was to them a constrained and hateful service; and when Ahaz was dead or dying, there was a shout of joy through all the cities of Philistia (xiv. 29). That premature exultation Isaiah checks with the prediction that they had seen as yet but the beginning of their troubles. The rod of one smiter might be broken, but another and yet another and a mightier should succeed him: "Out of the serpent root should come the basilisk, out of the basilisk the fiery flying

¹ We find the name of Mitenti, king of Ascalon, among the princes who were summoned, with Ahaz and Pekah, to do homage to Tiglath Pileser at Damascus (Lenormant, *Anc. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 890).

serpent" (xiv. 28-32). Interpreters differ as to the meaning of the symbols. Did the prophet speak of two Assyrian kings, Sargon and Sennacherib, as the successors of Tiglath Pileser, or of the kings of Judah who were to follow Ahaz? The latter seems to me the more probable interpretation. The promise that "the firstborn of the poor should feed, and that the needy should lie down in safety," hardly fits in with the idea of an Assyrian conqueror. It does agree entirely with the picture of one such as Isaiah looked for from the tribe of David,¹ who should "judge the poor with righteousness and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth," and yet should also "smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips should slay the wicked" (xi. 1-5), who should be at least a partial fulfilment of the ideal of the Anointed King, the Messiah of the future. What grounds Isaiah had for expecting such a king in the heir and successor of Ahaz, who was that "basilisk," "king-serpent" (the "cockatrice" of the Authorised Version), wise with the serpent's wisdom alike for mercy and for judgment,

"Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos,"

we shall see in the next section of our biography.

E. H. PLUMPTRE.

¹ Historically, Isaiah's words were fulfilled in Hezekiah, who "smote the Philistines even unto Gaza and the borders thereof, from the tower of the watchman unto the fenced city" (2 Kings xviii. 8).

**THE STRUCTURE OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL
AND OF THE APOCALYPSE.**

BEFORE formally entering upon that series of Papers which, in his programme for the present year, the Editor of the *EXPOSITOR* has connected with my name, I hope that I may be allowed to ask the attention of my readers to the subject mentioned above. It will be found to be in a large measure introductory to what is to follow, although at the same time it is closely connected with at least one aim that I had in view when recently speaking in this Periodical of the Double Pictures of the fourth Gospel and of the Apocalypse.¹ The object of these Papers, it may be remembered, was not merely to deduce an important rule of interpretation for many individual passages of the Books in question, but to shew that a remarkable mode of thought by which both were pervaded was a strong proof of identity of authorship. This latter point I desire again mainly to keep in view in the present Paper. The subject can lose none of its interest amidst that revived attention which is paid to the Apocalypse in our time; and as what I am about to say, if correct, can hardly fail to have some bearing on the controversy, I am desirous to submit it to persons capable of judging, as a contribution to the argument. My general proposition now is, not that there are many short passages in the two Books which are marked by the same principles of structure, but that the whole structure of the Books is precisely similar; that, with an important point of difference to be immediately alluded to, both exhibit exactly the same plan; that, outwardly diverse as they at first sight appear to be, the one is a minute stamp and counterpart of the other; while, at the same time, their profound similarity (for I can use no lighter term) is yet of such a kind as to make it utterly inconceivable that any forger who had

¹ *THE EXPOSITOR, New Series*, vol. iv.

the one book before him could have been led by it to the thought of the other.

In conducting this inquiry it will not be necessary to discuss the date of the Apocalypse. In the order of thought, indeed, it will appear that it must have been preceded by the Gospel. But the order of thought is not the same thing as that of writing or of publication. A man may have a subject long in his mind—perhaps, as it would be necessary to think in the case before us, thirty years—before he summons courage to present it to the world in a book. In the meantime he may write what, though founded upon that subject, seems to be more urgently demanded by the position which he occupies or by the force of surrounding circumstances; and the last years of life may come upon him before he returns to his first love. In such a case the enquirer of a distant age would obviously be wrong in saying that, because the subject or thought of the last book preceded that of the first, the last must also have been the first to appear. Thus may it have been in the present instance. The thought of the Apocalypse may have been clearly founded on that of the Gospel, yet the Apocalypse may have been first written or published. The probabilities are certainly the other way, but the supposition now made is not in itself unreasonable. At all events it is enough to say that it is sufficiently reasonable to justify the writer of this Paper in abstaining, for the purpose which he has in hand, from any discussion as to dates. Two books are before us. The sole point with which we have to deal is, that in the two there is such singular identity of treatment of two different although cognate subjects that both must have proceeded from the same mind.

I turn now to the point immediately before us, and begin with the Gospel. It is impossible to attempt even to give any account of the views as to its structure entertained by

others. But it may be well to say at the outset that there is very general agreement on some at least of its main articulations. Thus hardly any one will deny that it has at least three parts—a Prologue, the main body of the narrative, and an Epilogue: that the Prologue extends from Chapter i. 1 to verse 18 of the same chapter; that Chapter xxi. contains the Epilogue, and that the main body of the narrative falls between Chapter i. 19 and Chapter xx. 31. In addition to this it is allowed that the main body of the narrative has at least two parts, the first extending from Chapter i. 19 to the close of Chapter xii., the second embracing Chapters xiii. to xx. In the first of these, moreover, few hesitate to recognize a subdivision at the end of Chapter iv., and in the second another subdivision at the end of Chapter xvii. A similar amount of agreement may be said to exist with regard to several of the main divisions of the Apocalypse. It is admitted that it consists of a Prologue, of the main body of the book, and of an Epilogue; that the Prologue is contained in Chapter i., that the Epilogue extends from Chapter xxii. 6 to the close of the Book, and that the main body of the narrative falls between Chapter ii. 1 and Chapter xxii. 5. In addition to this, almost all readily allow that Chapters ii. and iii. must be taken by themselves, and that there is a distinct transition from one section to another at Chapter vi. 1. These things are mentioned now because it will thus be clear that the greater part of the general scheme of structure adopted in this Paper has a large amount of authority to rest upon, and that, at least in many particulars, it is not liable to the charge of novelty.

What then, it may next be asked, is the general object or purpose of the Gospel? The answer is obvious. It is to set forth the glory of Jesus the Son of God, in his conflict with the world, and in his victory over it, even when apparently defeated. Throughout the whole Gospel, Jesus

is specially set before us as the *Son of God*. We see this in the very opening words, "In the beginning was the Word; and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." We see it in the confession drawn from the lips of Nathanael, before the introduction of Jesus upon the page of history is completed, "Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art King of Israel" (Chapter i. 49). We see it in all those discourses of Jesus with "the Jews," which form the most essential and characteristic portions of the Gospel. Finally, we see it in the words in which the Evangelist avows in the clearest manner the purpose of his writing, "These are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God" (Chapter xx. 31). There can be no doubt as to the point of view from which Jesus is looked at in the fourth Gospel. He is the Son of God; and, as such, his work in a sinful world is one both of struggle and of victory. Let us turn to the Apocalypse. What is the object or purpose of that Book? The answer seems to be as obvious as before. It is to set forth the glory of Jesus as *Son of Man*, as Priest and King of his people, in his conflict with the world, and in his victory over it even when apparently defeated. From the beginning to the end of Revelation Jesus is presented to us, not so much in that glory which He had with the Father before the world was, as in that which He possesses since his ascension into Heaven, where He is "the First and the Last, and the Living One," who "was dead, and behold He is alive for evermore" (Chapter i. 18). Throughout the whole Book, in short, He is the Head of a new creation that is one with Him; not come to bear sons, but having actually borne them, and now leading them through all trial to his own glorious rest. We see this in Chapter i. 12, 13, where the rapt Apostle tells us that having heard behind him a great voice as of a trumpet, and being turned to see the voice that spake with him, he "saw seven golden candlesticks,

and in the midst of the candlesticks one like unto a son of man." We see it in all those passages which lead us to think of Jesus as the risen and ascended Lord. Finally, we see it in the whole character of the Book which every enquirer, whatever theory of interpretation he may adopt, allows to contain a delineation of the struggle and victory of Christ's Church in the world. The point of view, therefore, from which the two Books are now to be compared is this, that the Gospel presents us with the conflict and triumph of the Son of God, as He plants his truth in the world and accomplishes his Father's will; that the Apocalypse presents us with the conflict and triumph of the Son of Man in his Body which is the Church, as it waits for his Second Coming, when He shall receive his faithful ones to Himself, that where He is there they may be also.

Each of these great themes is set before us in the Book devoted to it in seven parts or sections. I shall place these parts in each case immediately after one another; and my readers must judge for themselves, after they look back upon the whole discussion, whether they can accept the proposed division as correct.

GOSPEL, *Part 1, Chapter i. 1-18.* The Book begins with a general description of the greatness and glory of The Word in his pre-existent state, and then as become flesh and tabernacling among us. We have in the opening verses a summary of the leading purpose of the Word's appearance and work in the world, as these presented themselves to the mind of the Evangelist. Historical action does not yet begin.

APOCALYPSE, *Part 1, Chapter i. 1-20.* The Book opens with a general description of the greatness and glory of the Son of Man, of the Redeemer, not so much in the mystery of the hypostatic union as in that of his eternal priesthood, when He is "Head over all things to the Church which is his Body." It is of peculiar importance to notice the

description of the Lord contained in verses 13-18, together with the fact that these particulars are again taken up in the introductory parts of the Epistles to the Seven Churches in Chapters ii. and iii. Historical action does not yet begin.

GOSPEL, *Part 2, Chapter i.* 19-ii. 11. This part contains the presentation of Jesus upon the field of human history. He now dwells with men full of grace and truth, and we behold his glory, "the glory as of the only begotten of the Father." We are introduced to Him. We make acquaintance with Him, and that too under the very aspects which it will afterwards be the purpose of the Gospel to unfold. He is baptized with the Spirit. He is the Lamb of God. He is the Messiah, which is, being interpreted, the Christ. He is the fulfiller of the Law and of the Prophets. He is the Son of God, and the King of Israel. The rich and satisfying nature of the Dispensation which He is to introduce stands out in striking contrast with the poverty and unsatisfactoriness of the Dispensation which preceded it. These points are not enlarged on or illustrated. They are simply stated that we may know Him whose fortunes we are to follow.

APOCALYPSE, *Part 2, Chapters ii. and iii.* This part contains the presentation of the Church upon the field of human history. By the consent of all competent enquirers the Seven Churches represent the one Catholic Church of Christ. We see her in her various aspects as she then existed, and as she would exist throughout the future; now true and then false; at one moment upright and at another hypocritical; here spiritually minded and there conforming herself to that world which she was appointed to overcome. But the great point is that by the delineation thus presented to us we learn to know the Church, what she ought to be, what she ought to do, and what she is. There is thus no want of harmony between these two Chapters and the other

Chapters which, wholly different in character, either precede or follow them. No doubt it is in visions that we are to behold the Church's progress in this world. Yet, before we can follow her fortunes even in vision, we must be introduced to her; and, in giving us this introduction, Chapters ii. and iii. disclose to us the nature of that integral part of the Apocalypse which they form.

GOSPEL, *Part 3, Chapter* ii. 12 to iv. 54. In this part of the Gospel we behold Jesus no longer in the privacy of his disciples or of the family circle, but in all the extent of his work, and exhibiting striking illustrations of his coming victory. After the cleansing of the temple, when He is rejected by the representatives of the theocracy, and has his way opened up to wider fields, three incidents are related in which the Evangelist sees pictures of the manner in which the new kingdom shall diffuse itself as it accomplishes its lofty destiny. These incidents belong to the three divisions of the theocratic land,—Judea, Samaria, and Galilee. They tell us of Nicodemus, of the woman of Samaria, and of the Galilean nobleman. Nicodemus is a ruler of "the Jews." The Samaritan woman belongs to a land that is beyond the pale of covenant privilege. The Galilean nobleman, if not a Gentile, though his connexion with the court would seem to indicate his Gentile birth, is at all events one of those on whom the condemnatory sentence of Chapter iv. 48 is passed, "Except ye see signs and wonders ye will not believe." Yet, various as their conditions are, the three are successively *subdued* to faith, and that not by signs but by the word of Jesus. The point, however, to be particularly observed is that in this section the central part of the Gospel has not been reached. The actual conflict which constitutes its substance has not begun. There are traces of it, intimations of its coming, according to that tendency of the writer which leads him in earlier sections to prepare us for what shall only in later sections be set forth with

fulness. But the conflict itself does not assume its decided character until we come to the fifth Chapter. The main idea, therefore, of this third section of the Gospel is not to give us a history of the struggle even in its beginnings. It is rather to afford us illustrations of what, when it comes, will be effected by its means. Having introduced Jesus to us in the second section, and having placed Him on the field of history, St. John would now give us a sample of the victorious progress that awaits Him in the conflict immediately to follow.

APOCALYPSE, Part 3, Chapters iv. and v. It would seem that these two Chapters ought to be regarded in a light precisely analogous to that in which we have been led to think of the section of the Gospel just considered. They are evidently no part of the conflict which it is the main object of the Book to describe: the visions directly relating to that begin only with the sixth Chapter. They are pictures or representations of an introductory nature, bringing before us the heavenly Guardians of the Church as They preside over her destinies, and the Church herself as, in their strength, she triumphs over every foe. In Chapter iv. the thought of God as Creator and providential Governor of the Church is prominent; in Chapter v. the thought of Him as Redeemer; but both Chapters are marked by songs of victory sung in anticipation of a conflict not yet begun. St. John, in short, having introduced the Church to us in Chapters ii. and iii., and having placed her on the field of history, would do precisely what he did in the third section of his Gospel with regard to the Church's Lord. He would shew the nature of that victorious progress which awaits her in the conflict immediately to follow.

GOSPEL, Part 4, Chapter v. 1 to xii. 50. This is the leading section of the Gospel, and it brings the Saviour before us in all his glory, and in the height of his conflict with darkness and error, and sin. He is now accomplish-

ing the work which his Father had committed to Him, and the effect is in a high degree remarkable. Through a *progress*, traces of which are everywhere visible, both faith and unbelief are gradually deepened in those who listen to his words. Such as have an affinity with the light are drawn nearer to it, and their faith and love become more conspicuous. Around such as love the darkness the darkness deepens, until at last in the closing verses of Chapter xii. we hear the mournful echoes of the words of the Prologue, "He came unto his own, and they that were his own received him not" (Chapter i. 11). To the eye of sense there is defeat instead of victory. Nevertheless, there is victory, for Jesus has gathered his disciples out of the world, and Isaiah had prophesied of the fall of those who had hardened themselves against Him when he saw his glory and spoke of Him (Chapter xii. 41).

APOCALYPSE, *Part 4, Chapter vi. 1-xviii. 24.* We have in the Chapters now mentioned, without a doubt, the leading section of the Apocalypse, and it is not possible to mistake the close resemblance of its train of thought to that of the fourth section of the Gospel. We have the Church before us in the height of her conflict with her great enemies, the devil, the world, and the false prophet; while we cannot fail to mark the *progress* with which judgment is visited upon her adversaries, in direct correspondence too with their deserts; for, "shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" Strange to say, however, the last echoes of this section, like those of the corresponding section of the Gospel, are full of melancholy. The faithful remnant is no doubt preserved, but the Church of Christian no less than that of Jewish times has become degenerate; and, in the character of a harlot selling herself to the world, she rushes on her fate. To the eye of sense there is again defeat instead of victory. Nevertheless there is victory, for the voice from heaven has been heard and obeyed, "Come

forth, my people, out of her, that ye have no fellowship with her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues" (Chapter xviii. 4); and Babylon falls before the "strong Lord God which judged her" (Chapter xviii. 8).

GOSPEL, *Part 5, Chapters* xiii.-xvii. The fifth section of the Gospel extends from the beginning of Chapter xiii. to the close of Chapter xvii. The leading idea of the section is that the struggle of Jesus with the world in order to lead it to faith is over. There is indeed to be still another outbreak of the world's enmity to its Lord, but meanwhile we have a moment's breathing time. There is a pause. The end of Christ's work has been accomplished. The separation which was to be brought about has taken place. The light has been divided from the darkness, and is now in the sacred and tender fellowship of Him who is light, and light alone. The keynotes of this section seem to be the going out of Judas (Chapter xiii. 31), and our Lord's words in his high-priestly prayer, "I pray for them, I pray not for the world" (Chapter xvii. 9). There is no thought of the world or of darkness. Jesus is alone with his disciples who are all "clean" (Chapter xiii. 10); and, at *the feast of the Last Supper* now instituted by Him, and in which Judas has no part, He pours forth the whole fulness of his love.

APOCALYPSE, *Part 5, Chapter* xix. 1-xx. 6. It is impossible to discuss here the meaning of the "1000 years" to which in this section so much importance must be attached. Fortunately it is not necessary to do so. The general idea of the section may be patent to us, whether we understand by these years the whole period of the present dispensation in one of its aspects, or a special period of happiness immediately before the general judgment, or simply a figure of complete glory and felicity without reference to time at all. That general idea is obviously rest and triumph for believers who have continued faithful to the end. The conflict of the Church with the world is over. There is no struggle now.

There is nothing but hallelujahs of praise. Christ the great Captain of his people's salvation is alone with them, riding forth victoriously at their head, not to conquer enemies, but with the marks of past conflict upon his garment (Chapter xx. 13). Nor is this all. *There is again a supper* (Chapter xix. 17), and from any share in it the Beast and the False Prophet are excluded (Chapter xix. 20), Satan even being bound for a season that he may not disturb the peace of this new company in a new upper chamber, but may leave them, "blessed and holy" in the first resurrection, to reign with Christ a thousand years (Chapter xx. 6).

GOSPEL, *Part 6, Chapters xviii.-xx.* The Saviour had by this time ideally accomplished his work (Chapter xvii. 4); his people were ideally safe (Chapter xvii. 12), but by that very fact his enemies are roused to their last and worst outbreak of rage. Satan has entered into Judas. The betrayal takes place. Jesus is led before Annas and Caiaphas and Pilate. At length He is nailed to the cross, dies, and is buried. But the defeat is only apparent. Jesus is all the while victorious, because nothing happens to Him without his own Divine permission and acquiescence. His very death upon the cross is really his being "lifted on high"; and there, and in his Resurrection, his glory culminates.

APOCALYPSE, *Part 6, Chapter xx. 7-xxii. 5.* At the close of her conflict the Church had been permitted, as we have seen, to rest. But her rest was not yet to be permanent. One struggle more ere all shall be for ever well. Satan is loosed, gathers his hosts together from the four quarters of the earth, and makes a final attack upon "the camp of the saints and the beloved city." The attack is unsuccessful; he, too, is cast into the lake of fire, and the happiness of God's people is perfected in the New Jerusalem.

GOSPEL, *Part 7, Chapter xxi.* The closing section of the Gospel contains the successful ministry of the Apostles and

the spread of the Christian Church ; thus shewing the use to be made of the delineation given in the previous Chapters, and encouraging the Apostles in the execution of their work. The last word of Jesus is "Till I come."

APOCALYPSE, Part 7, Chapter xxii. 6-21. This closing section of the Apocalypse contains also the use to be made of the delineation given in the previous Chapters, and stirs up the Church to a more earnest cry than ever that the Lord would come and accomplish all his promises. The last words are the answer of the Church to the "I come" of her Lord,—*"Amen : Come, Lord Jesus."*

Such seems to be the scheme of these two Books. I shall not venture to say that some of the details might not be to some extent otherwise given ; or that, especially in considering the figures of Revelation xx., an enquirer may not hesitate as to what is historical and what ideal. But, even although such differences may be suggested, and some hesitation may be felt in accepting all that I have said, it will hardly be denied that the correspondence of the Books is of the closest, at times of the most remarkable, kind. It is hardly conceivable that any but a single author of two books, in many respects different from one another, could have framed them to so great an extent upon the same plan ; and it is utterly inconceivable that if, as is urged by those who deny the single authorship, the Apocalypse was written first, it could have occurred to a different writer to construct the Gospel upon lines so parallel to those of the earlier work. The conclusion appears to be legitimate and fair that only one, whose whole being was pervaded by that peculiar view of Jesus and his work which either had been, or was yet to be, presented in the Gospel, could have cast his view of the fortunes of the Church into a form so entirely analogous as that which appears in the Apocalypse.

It is not enough, however, to rest the argument upon
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this general correspondence of plan between the two Books. Making allowance for the fact that the one sets forth the history of Jesus, the other that of his Church, the correspondence between the two may be traced in other particulars, to some of which I would now as briefly as possible advert.

A fundamental idea of both Books is that the Lord Jesus Christ and his people are one,—one in the commission given them by the Father, one in the work which they have to do, one in present and in future privilege. This leads to the thought that as the life of Jesus here below was a struggle, so the life of the Church in this world must be a struggle also. So far from forgetting the mysterious words once addressed to his brother and himself, "The cup that I drink ye shall drink; and with the baptism that I am baptized withal shall ye be baptized" (Mark x. 39), the Seer has extended them to all to whom he can say, "I John, your brother, and partaker with you in the tribulation and kingdom and patience which are in Jesus" (Rev. i. 9). All Christians as well as he must drink that cup, and be baptized with that baptism. The warning is continually ringing in his ears, "Remember the word that I said unto you, A servant is not greater than his Lord. If they persecuted me, they will also persecute you; if they kept my word, they will keep yours also;" "As thou didst send me into the world, even so sent I them into the world" (John xv. 20; xvii. 18). Nothing, therefore, can be more natural than that when he looks at the Church he should see her placed in the same position as her Lord, and that everything that befell the latter should become to him a type of what shall befall the former. I must content myself with three illustrations of this statement.

1. From this principle flows that peculiar conception of the sufferings of Christ's people by which the Apocalypse is so strongly marked. Christians do not suffer merely in a

general way ; they suffer like their Lord and Master, even unto death. It would occupy too great space to endeavour to shew just now that the martyrs of this Book are not the comparatively few who in different ages of the Church have sacrificed their lives in the cause of Christ, but that they are rather all the faithful members of his Body. The proof of this must be reserved for a later opportunity. It is enough at present to call attention to the fact that it is so. The two witnesses of Chapter xi. represent them all ; and the description of their death in the seventh and eighth verses of that Chapter is obviously drawn from the circumstances attending the closing hours of the Redeemer. The opening words, "And when they shall have finished their testimony," take us at once to the scene of the death of Jesus as it lived in the memory of St. John, for he tells us himself how he thought of the cross,—“When Jesus therefore had received the vinegar, He said, It is finished, and He bowed his head and gave up the ghost” (John xix. 30). Other particulars of the correspondence are not so minute ; but few will doubt whence the general idea of them is taken —“And when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast that cometh up out of the abyss shall make war with them, and overcome them, and kill them. And their dead bodies lie in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also their Lord was crucified.” A similar remark is applicable to the vindication at the hands of God which the witnesses receive. Probably no commentator hesitates a moment to recognize in the account of it particulars furnished by the resurrection and ascension of our Lord—“And after the three days and a half the breath of life from God entered into them, and they stood upon their feet ; and great fear fell upon them which beheld them. And they heard a great voice from heaven, saying unto them, Come up hither. And they went up to heaven in the cloud ; and their enemies beheld them”

(verses 11, 12). The same style of thought seems to characterize the whole Book. How often in the fourth Gospel do the Jews seek to "kill" Jesus: and in the Apocalypse, when the Church of the Old Testament waits for those without whom she cannot be made perfect, her members having been described as "slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held," it is added that "there was given unto them, to each one, a white robe; and it was said unto them that they should rest yet a little time, until their fellow-servants also and their brethren, which should be killed even as they were, should be fulfilled" (Rev. vi. 9-11). The true followers of Jesus must everywhere and always accept alike the thought and the fact of martyrdom as Jesus did.

2. Let us think of the enemies of the Church. The representation given of them in the Apocalypse flows from the same principle as that which we have seen determines the suffering aspect of the Christian life. In the fourth Gospel they are three in number, the devil, the degenerate Judaism of the day, and the Roman power. These three, it is unnecessary to shew, bring about in the Gospel the death of Jesus. But the very same three appear in the Apocalypse as the great enemies with which the Church has to contend. No one will deny this with regard to Satan in Chapter xii. or the first beast in Chapter xiii.; and, the more carefully the particulars mentioned of the second beast of this latter Chapter are examined, the more will it appear that it is difficult to think of anything upon which the description rests so much as of that irreligious spirit and conduct of "the Jews" which led them to incite Pilate to the condemnation of the Christ, at the moment when he himself said "I find no fault in him," and "sought to release him" (John xix. 6, 12). I need not pause to shew that these three enemies appear in every age of the Christian Church. We may feel that it is not un-

natural that a writer, who delights so much as St. John in the use of the number 3, should see especially three enemies bringing about the death of Jesus ; but when, as that writer deals with the history of the Church throughout all ages, the same three again appear, the fact cannot fail to shew us how closely the fortunes of the latter are moulded upon those of the former.

3. I shall refer to only one other passage in illustration of the principle of structure now contended for. At Revelation xvii. 16 we read, " And the ten horns which thou sawest, and the beast, these shall hate the harlot, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and shall burn her utterly with fire. For God did put it in their minds to do his mind, and to come to one mind, and to give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God should be accomplished." The passage is one of the most startling in the whole Book of Revelation, and its statement comes upon us with the feeling of a result totally unexpected and at first sight unaccounted for. The harlot had been sitting on the beast, and guiding the beast in perfect harmony with its designs. All at once the scene is changed. Defeat has in the meantime taken place, and what is its effect? The bond which in prosperity had bound together the partners in wickedness is dissolved ; they who had co-operated in sin fall out, the one section turns round upon the other, and she who had found ready instruments in the beast and its heads for accomplishing the work to which she had spurred them on, now sees them in the hour of common despair fall upon herself, and mercilessly destroy her. It is not necessary for the object of this Paper to enquire what events of time then future, or future still, may be symbolized by this language. One remark only need be made upon that point, that to seek the historical fulfilment of the words in the return of Nero to take vengeance upon Rome must appear to most men, on the simple statement

of it, absurd. A great principle is proceeded on,—one often exemplified in the world,—that combinations of the wicked for a common crime have a tendency to break up, leaving the guilty associates to turn upon and destroy one another. The question, however, that here concerns us is as to the historical circumstances which lie at the bottom of the terrible picture; and, when we ask that question, it is difficult not to think that there was one great drama now present to the Seer's mind, and suggestive of the harlot's ruin—even that drama which embodied in intense action the mightiest forces that move the world, the drama of the life and death of Jesus. The degenerate Jewish Church had then called in the assistance of the world-power, had stirred it up, and persuaded it to do its bidding against Him whom it hated with all the hatred felt by a faithless bride towards one to whom she was lawfully espoused, and who was entitled to her entire allegiance. An alliance had been made between them by means of which they crucified the Lord of glory; but the alliance was soon broken, and in the fall of Jerusalem by the hands of her guilty paramour, the harlot was left desolate and naked, her flesh was eaten, and she was burned utterly with fire.

Had space permitted, other illustrations of a kind similar to those given might have been found. Or, if the principle of contrasts which plays so large a part in the Apocalypse had been resorted to, the same conclusion might have been suggested by them, as when *e.g.* the sealing of the abyss in Chapter xx. 3 seems to be a kind of mocking contrast to the sealing of the stone which closed the mouth of the tomb in which the crucified Saviour was laid. But I have probably said enough to shew that the Apocalypse is penetrated in a remarkable manner by the tendency to present the history of the Church as in every respect the counterpart of the history of the Church's Lord. Not in great outlines only but in minute particulars the former

history follows the latter as the latter is set before us in the fourth Gospel. This result could not have been produced by any mere reader of the historical book who afterwards wrote the other; besides which it will be borne in mind that, according to the views of the most important critics who deny the single authorship of the two Books, the Gospel was not written for thirty, or fifty, or even a hundred, years after the Apocalypse. It is not less difficult to think that the Gospel could have been written in order to be (what Baur somewhere calls it) "a spiritual Apocalypse." The expression is difficult to understand, and was probably not intended to apply to such resemblances as have been here noted. The problem to be solved assumes this shape. Given the Apocalypse written about A.D. 68, could another writer about A.D. 95 or 96 have conceived or executed a life of Christ prepared upon the very singular plan upon which the Apocalypse had been written? Could he have substituted Christ for the Church, and changed the glowing visions of the prophetic and poetic book into a historical narrative having so little in common with them that the wideness of the gulf by which the two Books are separated is a favourite, and not the least powerful, argument with those who deny the identity of authorship? Could he have done this, too, without betraying far more clearly than he has done the object that he had in view? Could he have done it indeed so obscurely that an attempt, like that now made, to trace the common thought of both runs the risk of being considered fanciful rather than well founded? On the other hand, without confusing the argument by the question of the dates of the two Books, and bearing in mind what was said at the beginning of this Paper as to the distinction between the mental framing and the public production of a book, let us suppose that the two did proceed from the same pen, and the resemblance between them is at once explained. One of the deepest

thoughts of the Apostle's mind is that the Church must not only suffer, but suffer as Jesus did. She must tread her Lord's path to heaven, fight a similar battle for similar victory, bear the same cross if in due season she would wear the same crown. That is not the lesson of St. John only, but of Christ Himself, and of all the sacred writers. Let us suppose then, what is the fact, that it fills St. John's mind, animates his whole being, is his key to the problems both of this world and the next, and it seems most natural that, with his Gospel telling of the fortunes of Christ in his heart if not in his hand, he should write his Apocalypse. The voice of that Book to Christ's people is, "Expect only in this world what befell your Lord; but expect also, at his Second Coming, what befell Him when his work was accomplished; cherish the "patience and faith of the saints;" and cry, "Come, Lord Jesus."

WM. MILLIGAN.

THE CHRONICLE OF BALAAM.

§ 2. *The Journey* (Numbers xxii. 22-34).

OF Balaam's long journey from Mesopotamia to Moab only a single incident is recorded, and this, apparently, occurred as his journey drew to a close. All the graphic and local touches in the description of the road he took,—first, through the open field where the ass could turn aside, then along a path between high vineyard walls against one of which the terrified and shrinking ass crushed his foot, and then along the strait place, the narrow causeway, where there was no room to turn—indicated that he was approaching a city; for only in the environs of a city would he be likely to pass successively through cultivated fields, carefully guarded vineyards, and the raised narrow way which led up to the gate. And it has been conjectured,

with much probability, that the city he was approaching was Ir-Moab, or Ar of Moab, on the eastern border of Balak's kingdom, near the spot where the Upper Arnon receives its tributary Nahaliel. One of the upper branches of this stream still bears the name *Balû*, and in this name there is very possibly a reminiscence of *Balaam*.

Only one incident of the journey is recorded, but this incident is so singular in itself, and, in the shallower sort of mind, has assumed such undue proportions and given rise to so much sceptical and jesting comment, that it is impossible to pass it by with the few words which are all that it really deserves. That "the dumb ass, speaking with man's voice, should rebuke the madness of the prophet," is but a theme for ridicule and merriment to many; while, to many more, it presents a grave and serious difficulty any solution of which they would thankfully welcome. I myself can well remember a time when Balaam's ass was a much more perplexing figure than Balaam himself, and when I turned with disappointment from any sermon or essay on the character of this singular prophet—even the weighty and illuminating discourses of Bishop Butler and F. D. Maurice—which made no attempt to explain this incident in his story. And as there must be many who are still as immature and perplexed in thought as I then was, it may be well to treat this incident as if it were of more importance than I think it is, and to deal with it at somewhat disproportionate fulness and length.¹

The angel appeared, then, and the dumb ass spake "to rebuke *the madness* of the prophet." What was his madness? in what did it consist? is, therefore, the first question we ask; for if we can get at the motive of this strange intervention, that may go far to explain the intervention itself.

¹ The solution of the problem that I am about to offer has already been given, in substance, to the readers of this Magazine. *First Series*, vol. viii.

Here, then, was a man of high prophetic gifts, and very proud of the gifts which raised him so high above his fellows (Chap. xxiv. 3, 4; 15, 16); a man, too, of a conscience so far quick and sensitive that he could not enter on any course without first persuading himself that he had Divine sanction for it: and he is going on an errand which he feels to be a dubious one, an errand in which he is conscious that his own wishes and interests are not in harmony with the will of God. He wants to curse the people whom God has commanded him to bless. And though he quite means, or has persuaded himself that he quite means, to obey the Divine command, he would gladly induce God to modify it; while in the darker corners of his soul, into which he does not care to pry, there lurks perhaps a hope that he may hit on some means of evading that command while seeming to obey it, without doing too much violence to his conscience. And so, as he goes on his way, he plots and broods and schemes; he bids his brains go about and devise some plan by which, while true to the letter of the Divine command, he may yet be false to its spirit.

We are doing him no injustice, I hope and think, in assuming that this was the point about which his thoughts hovered and revolved during his long journey; for we base the assumption not simply on the course he ultimately took, but also on all the details of the strange intervention by which his thoughts and schemes were arrested at the close of the journey, and on one or two direct hints which the Chronicle yields to an attentive student. Thus, in Verse 22, we are told that "the anger of the Lord was kindled against him *as he was going*"; not "*because he was going*," as in the Authorised Version, but by something transpiring within the man as he went. Now God is not angry without cause; and the one cause which makes Him angry with men is some unrighteousness in them, or some inward

leaning toward unrighteousness. And what could the unrighteous leaning of Balaam be but that, in the conflict between his own interests and desires and the will of God, he was permitting his interests and desires to prevail over his sense of duty, suffering the baser elements of his nature to override the promptings of that in him which was highest and best, giving way, in short, to the temptation which Balak had held out before him, and scheming how he might please man without altogether breaking with God.

So absorbed is he in his schemes, so preoccupied, that this man, ordinarily so alert, so quick to discern omens, so sensitive to spiritual intimations, so proud of his open eye, actually does not see the angel who stands full in his path, with his sword drawn in his hand. So unlike himself is he that, forgetting his customary composure and moderation, he cruelly smites the ass who is saving him from destruction, and only longs that his staff had been a sword that he might slay her !

This inward preoccupation and deterioration was "the madness" which the dumb ass forbade and rebuked. And how severe and humiliating, yet how merciful, the rebuke ! How humiliating that he who prided himself on being "the man whose eyes are open, who heareth the words of God and seeth the vision of the Almighty," should find himself outdone by the very beast he rode, blind to what even his ass could see ; so insensate, so "transported from himself" as that he had sought to slay the very creature who had saved him ! And yet what a wonder of mercy and grace was it that even while, as the angel told him, his way was rash, foolhardy, full of hidden perils which he ought never to have affronted, God had not forgotten or forsaken him, but had miraculously interposed to warn him that the course he was meditating could only lead him to destruction, to arrest him in his downward path, to quicken his attention, to open his eyes to the spiritual facts and omens

of which he had lost ken, and to call him back to the allegiance he so loudly professed !

These are the thoughts naturally suggested by this incident to reflective and spiritual minds : and it will be admitted that it is somewhat depressing to be called down from such thoughts as these—thoughts which throw so much light on God's providential dealing with us and with all men—to a consideration of the mere form of the narrative and of the difficulties which it suggests to the inquiring and sceptical intellect. But since this also is a necessary part of our task, let us at once address ourselves to it and get it out of our way.

Now, of course, if we are to approach this problem in a fair and reasonable spirit, we must peremptorily banish from our minds all the sordid and ludicrous associations which, here in England, have long been connected with the ass. We have only to go as far as Spain to find a much nobler strain of this patient and useful beast ; while, in all Eastern lands and from the earliest times, the ass has been as habitually ridden by the learned and dignified classes in time of peace as the horse in war. More sure of foot than the horse, of a steadier nerve, more patient of labour and distress, it is eminently suited to such lands as Syria and Mesopotamia, where stretches of burning sand alternate with lofty mountain ranges, with their difficult rocky passes and steep dangerous ascents and descents.

Then, too, if the angel of the Lord appeared, as we are told, in a visible, and probably in a human form, brandishing a drawn sword against the advancing prophet, we need find no difficulty in the fact, need betake ourselves to no theory of instinct to understand, that the ass *saw* him, and sought to avoid the peril to which both she and her master were exposed ; while the prophet himself, brooding over his schemes with downcast and introverted eyes, might very well see nothing beyond the ass on which he rode,

even when his attention was partly aroused by its unwonted behaviour.

The real difficulty of the incident to those who feel a special difficulty in it consists, I suppose, in the alleged fact that the ass *spoke*, spoke in apparently human words and with a human voice. And this difficulty has, to say the least of it, been very neatly turned by many of our ablest critics and commentators, some of whom have as little love for miracles as the veriest sceptic. They say: Balaam, the soothsayer and diviner, was trained to observe and interpret the motions and cries of beasts and birds, and especially anything that was exceptional in them; to draw auguries and portents from them, to see in them the workings of a Divine power, to infer from them indications of the Divine will. When, therefore, the beast he rode shewed so strange and unwonted a reluctance to advance; when he first "turned aside out of the way," then "crushed" Balaam's foot against a wall, and then fell down groaning in "a narrow place where there was no room to turn either to the right hand or the left," all the diviner woke in the man. Here was a portent indeed, and he must interpret it. And to him it seemed that the ass was striving and remonstrating with him; that, conscious of a presence of which he himself was unaware, it was seeking to save him from a doom which he was heedlessly provoking. And so, with the dramatic instinct of an Oriental poet, either Balaam himself or the original writer of the Chronicle *translated these subjective impressions into external facts*, and made the ass "speak" the meaning which he read in its motions and groans.

Nor is it only rationalistic critics who lean toward the interpretation which makes Balaam read the speech or rebuke into the dumb ass's inarticulate cries. It is adopted in one of the most orthodox of recent commentaries—the Speaker's Commentary, where we read: "The cries of

the ass would seem to have been significant to Balaam's mind only," and not to have meant anything to the servants and the envoys who were with him; just as Saul alone heard "words" on the way to Damascus, those who journeyed with him hearing a "sound," indeed, but finding no articulate meaning in it. "God may have brought it about that *sounds uttered by the creature after his kind became to the prophet's intelligence as though it addressed him in rational speech.* Indeed to an augur, priding himself on his skill in interpreting the cries and movements of animals, no more startling warning could be given than one so real as this, yet *conveyed through the medium of his own art*; and to a seer, pretending to superhuman wisdom, no more humiliating rebuke can be imagined than to teach him by the mouth of his own ass."

Then, too, to complete their case, those who hold this hypothesis proceed to point out to us the congruity of the speech with the supposed speaker. If, they say, the ass had had any profoundly spiritual truth put or read into its mouth, there would or might have been a marked and repulsive disproportion between the truth revealed and the medium through which it was conveyed. But no such truth is attributed to her; what she says, or is supposed to say, is wholly in keeping with her animal nature and conditions. It is simply what myriads of the animals who have been reduced to the service of man might and would have said could they have spoken with man's voice. All she does is to remonstrate against the injustice and cruelty with which she has been treated, to appeal to the fidelity of her service as a reason why she should not be suspected of wilful disobedience. Virtually she says to her master (Verse 30): "You have smitten me these three times. You would have slain me if you could, although my only offence is that I have been trying

to save you from a danger you did not see. Why have you treated me so cruelly? Have I not served you faithfully ever since I was thine? Have I ever disobeyed you before, or disobeyed you without sufficient cause? Am I wont to do so unto thee? If not, why forget my past service and fidelity? Why did you not conclude that I had good reason for disobeying you now?"

Certainly, if an ass could speak, she could hardly speak more appropriately. She is simply speaking for the whole animal race, and once for all protests against and rebukes the madness and the cruelty with which these poor relations of ours upon the carnal side are only too often treated.

The whole hypothesis is reasonable enough, indeed; for surely nothing is more probable than that a soothsayer and augur, accustomed to find omens in the actions of beasts and birds, should find a spiritual significance in the motions and groans of the ass beneath him which those who travelled with him did not so much as suspect. And if there are still any who find it a relief to look at the incident in this light, they will do well to look at it in this light. There is no need to say a word against it,—no need even to remind them that the only Scripture which describes the ass as actually speaking *with man's voice* is the so-called Second Epistle of St. Peter, and that this Epistle, which was not admitted into the canon of the early Church, seems in a fair way of being cut out from it by the scholarship of the modern Church. Nay, even if any should conclude that the Divine warning to the prophet was thrown into a fabulous or legendary form by the simplicity of ancient times, I for one will not quarrel with them for that; but will rather admit that, as we find some admixture of fable or legend in all ancient literatures, so also we may reasonably expect to find some such admixture in the ancient Hebrew literature, since the Spirit of all truth, as He has used most of the other literary forms

in which men instruct or delight each other, may very probably have used this form also for our instruction.

For myself, indeed, I care very little what interpretation may be placed on this singular passage in Balaam's story, and would as soon believe that the mouth of the dumb ass was really opened to utter articulate human words as that Balaam's sensitive and practised ear heard these words into his groans and cries. I would say, with F. D. Maurice: "*How* the dumb ass rebuked the madness of the prophet I know not, nor care to know. But I believe that whatever sounds it uttered they did convey exactly that meaning to the mind of the prophet which it is said that they conveyed. He felt that the instinct of a brute was made the instrument of teaching him, that what he would not learn by gracious inward discipline was brought home to him by rough, humiliating, outward discipline. I feel too deeply the essential veracity of the story to be troubled with minute questions about its details." And hence I do not need to say with Ewald, "A beast is often more sagacious and foreboding than an obdurate man;" or with Keil, "that animals have a perception of the abnormal and even of the supernatural, is the popular belief of all ages." I could be content with Robertson¹ to pass it by with the curt parenthesis, "The intervention of the ass, *whether literal or figurative*," or even to pass it by, as Bishop Butler did, without a single word.

For, after all, what does it matter *what* we do with it, *how* we read it? Get rid of the speaking ass, if you will; you do not thereby get rid of the speaking angel. And if, as I suppose, the angel stood at least as high above the Prophet as the ass stood below him on the scale of being,

¹ Robertson (of Brighton) does indeed add a few words, very few, on the several ways in which the incident has been explained; but it is only to conclude, with Maurice: "There is too much profound truth throughout this narrative for us to care much about either the literal or the figurative interpretation."—*Sermons*, vol. iv. p. 40.

the question how the angel could so speak as that Balaam should understand *him* is to the full as difficult and perplexing as the question which has been so long discussed,—how the ass could so speak as to be understood by the Prophet. Nay, if we are to talk of the difficulties of this ancient Chronicle, who will explain how, in what form and method, God Himself came to Balaam at night, and said: “Who are these men that are with thee?” or how the Spirit of God came upon him on the mountain, and opened his eyes to see the distant future, and taught his tongue to utter oracles the full meaning of which he himself could not grasp? The story is full of miracles—miracles so strange, complex, awful, that this poor wonder of the speaking ass sinks into utter insignificance, and one can only marvel how men should have been so profoundly impressed by this and yet so little moved by those. Nay, more, if we do but think of it, what—as Carlyle has asked—is the fact that man himself can speak, and speak with most miraculous organs, but a miracle? this miracle of Speech, too, running up into the still greater miracles of Thought and Life: all of them wonders which no advance of science is at all likely to explain, least of all that science which sees the promise and the potency of all things in an infinite cataract of infinitesimal atoms, and whose votaries

“Hedge their minds by present things,
The small parochial world
Of sight and touch.”

To escape from miracles is simply impossible.¹ Every man who believes in God at all believes in the supernatural—believes, that is, in a supernatural order underlying the natural order; believes even in a supernatural Being who

¹ “Before giving a too credulous ear to those who would persuade us that this or that is incredible because it is a miracle, it were prudent to require them to put their finger on something that is not miraculous.”—*Julian Hawthorne*.

originated the natural order, who is immanent in it and transcends it. And every man who believes that God has in any way, or at any time, revealed his will to men, believes that the supernatural order has broken through the natural order which it underlies and in which it is immanent, believes that the supernatural Being has, so to speak, come forth from the secret places of the pavilion in which He habitually dwells, to manifest Himself to mankind. But if we believe in miracles at all, and especially if we believe them to be the necessary and inevitable adjuncts of any revelation of the Divine will, is it not a little childish of us to compare this miracle with that, and say, "This we can accept, but not that?" Is it not more than a little childish of us to stand discussing the inevitable accompaniments of Revelation while we neglect the revelation itself, and so fail to learn the very lesson for the sake of which the miracles were wrought?

As many of us as have received the Bible's own account of itself decline to be so childish. We have reached a point of view from which all such difficulties as this cease to have any power over us, and stand on a rock from which we can be swept by no wave whether of Criticism or of Scepticism. For we believe that God's revelation of his will has been gradual and progressive, and that even to the end we have this heavenly treasure in earthen vessels. We believe that God revealed the truth to men as they were able to receive it, in and through the words with which they were familiar, in and through the mental and imaginative forms with which they were familiar. We believe that, if He deigned to speak to men at all, He *must* speak to them in the verbal, literary, and imaginative forms which they had invented, and which they employed *at the time He spoke*. And hence it does not disturb our faith in his Word to learn either that, when He would men that all things were created by Him at the

beginning, He disclosed that initial and pregnant fact in the scientific terms of the age to which He taught it;¹ or that, when He would rebuke the madness of a diviner, He should deign to use the forms in which such a man thought, or even the art which he pursued, and humble him by setting his own ass to prove how blind he was, despite his "open eye." It matters little to us whether the ass actually spoke or did not speak, whether we have history here or fable. Nor does it perplex us to see that inspired writers regarded as history what we, perhaps, can only receive as parable. We say: If God was to speak to men, He could only speak to them through the words, the thoughts, the conceptions and beliefs, current among them at the time, just as a man can only speak to a child effectually by speaking as a child and thinking as a child. And if these verbal and mental forms were imperfect—as doubtless they were and still are—nevertheless the lessons conveyed through these imperfect forms were of a perfect wisdom. Though the vessels of Revelation be of earth, the treasure they contain is heavenly and from Heaven.

Hence it is that we can say with entire frankness and honesty: Put what construction on the talking ass you will; call it fact, call it fable, or say that Balaam read an ominous rebuke into the natural cries of the beast on which he rode,—whatever the construction you put upon it, you will be little the wiser for it, little the better, unless you listen to the appeal, to the rebuke, which Balaam heard from the mouth of the ass or put into it. That lesson may be, and is, a very simple one; but its very simplicity at once makes it the more valuable and renders it the more probable that, much as we need to learn it, we may have overlooked it.

What, then, was this lesson or rebuke? The ass said,

¹ See "*Miracles—the Problem Stated*," by Almoni Peloni, in the *Expositor, New Series*, vol. iv. p. 241.

or Balaam took her to say, "Wherefore smite me? Have I not served you faithfully ever since I was thine? Am I wont to rebel against you?" And how could one who had been accustomed to look for ethical and religious meanings in all the signs of nature fail to look for an ethical meaning in this appeal, or fail either to find it, or to find how heavy a rebuke it carried for himself? He too had a Master, a Master in heaven, and was loud and frequent in his protestations of loyalty to Him. Yet could *he* look up to heaven and say to his Master, "Why hast Thou checked and rebuked me? Have not I served Thee faithfully ever since I was thine unto this day? Am I wont to disobey thy word?" Why, at that very moment he was untrue, disloyal, to his Master; he was plotting how he might speak other words than those which God had put into his mouth, and serve his own will rather than the Divine will! Might he not, then, well hear in the rebuke of the ass some such appeal as this: "Have you been as true to your Master as I to mine? Have you been as mindful of the heavenly vision as I of the heavenly apparition which I have seen? Has your service been as faithful, as patient, as disinterested as mine?"

The lesson is simple enough, I admit; but is it not also most necessary and valuable? Once of old God Himself had to appeal to those who professed to love and obey Him: "If I be a father, where is mine honour? and if I be a master, where is my reverence?" Might He not make the same appeal to-day? And if He did, which of us could look up and reply: "Have not *I* been true to Thee ever since I was thine? Am I wont to disobey Thee?"

The miracle of the speaking ass is, however, only one, and one of the least, of the many marvels of this ancient Chronicle. It sinks into utter insignificance when com-

pared with the fact that God permitted his servant to go on an errand on which He had forbidden him to go, and was then displeased with him for availing himself of that permission. For if man can give a voice even to things without life, as the pipe or harp, and if God daily speaks to us by all the creatures He has made, insomuch that, albeit there are "so many kinds of voices in the world," yet "none of them is without significance for us,"¹ it may well have been that He should speak to the soothsayer by the dumb ass, and rebuke his madness by teaching him the significance of her movements and cries. But how are we to explain the fact that God should say to his servant both "Go" and "Do not go,"—should both allow him to set out on an errand He had prohibited and withstand him as he went upon it? Can we say that here too the difficulty is largely of our own making, and that we should never have been perplexed by it had we read the Chronicle with open eyes?

Yes, even here, and great as the difficulty seems to be, it is of our own making, at least in this sense, that it is not peculiar to the Bible, much less to this particular narrative in the Bible, but meets us at every step we take, and pervades the whole structure of human life. For is it only in the Bible that two potent but opposed voices are heard to speak within the soul of man? Is it only in the Bible that we find men allowed to disobey a Divine command, and yet withstood at every step in their downward course, and threatened with destruction should they persist in it? Do we not daily meet with those who, confessing that they too have a Master in heaven, confessing even that his commandments are good and right, nevertheless struggle against his high pure will, and plot how to disobey the very commands which they acknowledge they ought to obey? And if the Bible is to reflect human life fairly and

1 Corinthians xiv. 7, 10.

to explain its true significance to us, must it not record this perplexing element in human life, and tell us what it means?

This, in brief, is the key to the whole mystery which confronts us here; and we have only to expand the thought and illustrate it in order to arrive at a teaching full of comfort and of large hopeful suggestion.

Balaam, then, as we have seen, was a man of like passions with ourselves. In him, as in us, the flesh made war upon the spirit; base cravings for reward and for personal distinction struggled within him against his sense of duty and the noble aspirations and inspirations which impelled him to follow after truth and righteousness. It was to his interest, he thought, to curse the people whom God had bidden him bless; and there is too much truth in the bitter sarcasm of Epictetus, "Few men love anything, even their God, so much as their own interest." As he brooded over Balak's invitation, with its manifold promise of honour, reward, and influence, and prided himself perhaps on his courage in declining it, many regrets seem to have mingled with his self-approval, and to have prepared him to yield to the second and still more promising invitation when it reached him.

We are not to blame him, we do not blame him, simply because, when this second invitation came, he consulted God again to see whether He had anything "more" to say to him, any new command to give him. But we cannot but blame him if, as there is too much reason to believe, he went to God a second time to "get his duty *altered* rather than to learn what his duty *was*;" for, in that case this lover of righteousness betrayed that his fundamental conception of righteousness was inaccurate and misleading, and shewed that he conceived of "the will of God as *making* right rather than as *being* right," as able, therefore, to sanction things wrong in themselves if only they were

plausibly presented to Him or artfully veiled from his sight. Assuredly many since his time have thus thought of God; they have conceived of his will as a personal caprice, liable to alter with every wind of supplication, every breath of desire, instead of thinking of it as the steadfast and righteous law of the universe which, simply because it is right, cannot change. God might be "managed," he hoped, and induced at least to connive at the course he wished to take, or even tricked into conceding his sanction to it unawares. In short, he appears to have been in a very similar position to that which many men still take when, craving an indulgence very strongly, they half persuade themselves that it is not so sinful as they have been wont to think it, or that God will not be strict to mark and punish a sin to which they are urged by impulses so strong and so natural.

Now when a man's whole soul is darkened and confused by this conflict between interest and conscience, between duty and desire, mere words, however prohibitory and threatening, are of little avail. What can be said to him which has not been said to him already, and has not already quickened echoes of assent within his own conscience and heart? As a rule, and if he is to be saved from his sin, and taught that God's will does not make right but is right, and cannot therefore vary with his varying moods, he must be allowed, he is allowed, to go out after the desire of his heart, to indulge his craving, and to see what comes of it. "When the spirit of a man thus contradicts itself, God becomes a contradiction to him, and He who had said 'Go not,' now says 'Go.'" With the froward God shews Himself froward, as with the upright He shews Himself upright; and that not in the Bible alone, but in the broad fields of daily human experience. Words of warning may still be vouchsafed; they were vouchsafed to Balaam; for when Jehovah, replying to the unspoken desire of his heart,

said, "Go with the men if you will," He added, "But only that which I tell thee, that shalt thou do." But when desire is strong, and the Divine will is not recognized as an unchanged and unchangeable Righteousness, such words are of little use; such warnings are speedily consumed in the flame of the burning desire, or they are obscured by its fumes, or the intoxicated will presses blindly on to its gratification through every obstacle; or, cooled and chastened by the rebuke, it studies how to evade it, or even to draw some specious but bastard sanction from it.¹

And hence we are not surprised to hear that as Balaam went on his wilful way, and drew near to the close of his journey, something more than words was wanted to save him from open and flagrant disobedience. At the start, he may have persuaded himself that he was quite strong enough to meet the temptation face to face, that there was no fear of his going beyond the word of the Lord in small things or great, even with Balak's silver and gold full in view. But as he went, his selfish, ambitious and covetous desires grew stronger—as a cool observer with any knowledge of human nature would have expected them to do—fiercer, and yet more cunning, till, as we have seen, he was plotting how he might please Balak and indulge himself without wholly displeasing God. For if he had not been contriving to do what God had told him not to do, why should God's anger have been kindled against him? God is not angry with men for doing his will, but for *not* doing it.

What is most worthy of note and reflection, however, in the miracle which has drawn so much attention and comment is the pedagogic, *i.e.* the educational and disciplinary, intention of it. We daily see that God does permit men to walk in ways that are not good, and that his anger is kindled against them for walking in those ways. And how

¹ Robertson (Sermon IV. in Fourth Series), from whom the citations in this and the previous paragraph are taken.

often does the question arise within us, "*Why* does He allow them? Why does He not forbid and prevent them? and what is the motive and end of his anger against them?" It matters little to us whether the ass did or did not speak: but it matters much to us that we should learn the secret of God's dealing with us when we too are torn by passionate desires, and overpowered by them, and hurried by them into courses which even we ourselves do not approve, however strongly we may be bent upon them.

Mark, then, the form which God's anger took with the Prophet who was scheming how he might disobey the word of the Lord. He sends an angel, with a sword, to withstand him in his way, to awaken him to the peril of the course to which he was leaning, and to terrify him into abandoning it. Here was a miracle, indeed, but a miracle of mercy—the marvellous loving-kindness of the Lord seeking to arrest his servant in his downward course and hold him back from sin.

In his blind preoccupation, however, he fails to see the angel of the Divine Mercy, and to take the warning vouchsafed him, and so the Divine interposition has to be carried a step further, and he exposes himself to the humiliation of being rebuked by his own ass. He is convicted (1) of having cruelly wronged the innocent creature who had saved him from the sword; (2) of having failed at his strongest point and lost the "open eye" of which he was wont to boast; and (3) of not being as true to his Master in heaven, despite his loud professions of loyalty and obedience, as she had been to her master on earth. If no rebuke could be more severe and humbling, none surely could have been more kind and merciful. For if men are not to be held back from evil by an angel, is it not well that they should be held back even by an ass? If the gentler strokes of correction fail, is it not well that they should be followed by severer and more effectual strokes? If appeals to our

higher nature do not suffice to arrest us, is it not well that we should be arrested by appeals to our lower nature?

Thus, at least, Balaam's eyes were opened. He saw the angel standing in the way with his sword drawn in his hand, and is told plainly why the angel had come forth to withstand him. It was because the "way," the course on which he was bent, was "foolhardy," rash, presumptuous, full of unsuspected dangers, and could only issue in his destruction. But for the superior sagacity of the ass whom he had smitten he would have been slain already; and if he persisted in the evil course on which he was set, he was simply travelling to his doom. He was losing his prophetic power already, his power to see visions, to recognize spiritual presences, omens, warnings; and if he did not turn from the evil of his ways, he would soon lose *all*, and his own soul to boot.

It was thus that Balaam understood the Divine rebuke when, at last, he became capable of again hearing the words of God and seeing visions from the Almighty. For he confesses (Verse 34), "*I have sinned, for I knew not that thou wast standing in the way against me.*" By which I take him to mean, not simply that he had sinned in not recognizing a Spiritual Presence, but that the mere fact that he had not seen the heavenly apparition was a sufficient proof that he had sinned away his power, that by cherishing a sinful purpose in his heart he had clouded his spiritual insight, darkened the eyes of his mind, sunk not only below the level of the prophet, but even below the level of the brute, and so had justly been rebuked by a brute. So deeply is he convinced of his sin, of what he has lost by it, of the imminent and deadly perils to which it has exposed him, that he will even go back to his distant home, though his foot is on the very border of Moab, rather than displease God or the angel again.

But, no, that cannot be. A man is bound by his past;

his future is shaped by his past. When he has once entered on an evil course, a return to former innocence and simple uncomplicated obedience is impossible. He cannot go back and be what he once was. He has called new forces into play; he has introduced new conditions into his lot; and he must reckon with these now. Often his only chance is to go on in the new course on which he has entered—as when, for instance, a man has mistaken his true vocation, or made an unhappy marriage, or pledged himself to a losing bargain—and to be true to the voice of conscience or of God at all costs to himself, and be the consequences what they may. It would seem to have been thus with Balaam. He could hardly turn back now. He had entered into covenant with Balak, and Balak was close at hand, eagerly expecting him. All that he could do was to be faithful to God as well as to Balak, and to keep his vow that, come what would, he would not go against the commandment of the Lord. And, hence, as God had said to him in distant Pethor “Go with the men,” that Balaam might put himself to the proof and come to know what manner of spirit he was of, so now the angel of the Lord repeats “Go with the men,” that Balaam might be true to his compact with Balak and to the new conditions which he had accepted. But let us note also that just as God had added to his permission a warning, “Go with them, *but only that which I shall tell thee, that shalt thou do,*” so also the angel of the Lord adds the selfsame warning, “Go with the men, *but only the word that I shall speak unto thee, that shalt thou speak.*” What it all came to was virtually this: “You have elected to set out on this foolhardy errand despite the promptings of your better part; you have pledged yourself to it. Go on with it then; but, O, take heed to yourself and to your ways; for only as you are true to God, and true to your better self, can you hope to escape the perils by which you are beset.”

I do not see how any thoughtful man can consider this story without discovering why God allows men to enter on ways which are not good, and which are therefore full of peril, and why He nevertheless "withstands" them when they walk in them. He allows them to enter on such ways that they may come to know themselves as they are, in their weakness as well as in their strength, that they may see clearly what is evil in their nature as well as what is good; and He withstands them in order that they may become aware of the perils to which they are unconsciously exposing themselves, may feel their need of his guidance and help, and may suffer Him to save them from their sins, and out of weakness make them strong.

There is nothing in this miraculous intervention of the angel and the ass comparable in value to this revelation of the redeeming love and purpose of God. What does it matter how we read it, whether we take it as parable or history, if only we see in it how the very anger of God is but a form of his grace, and how He strove by warning and rebuke, by now appealing to his higher nature, and now appealing to his lower nature, to shew Balaam how low he had fallen, to chasten from his soul that selfish hankering after reward and distinction which was overmastering his love of righteousness, his sense of duty, to drive him from halting between that in himself which was good and honourable and that which was base and bad, and so to save him from the destruction which he had provoked? To my mind there is an infinite pathos, as there is also a teaching the most pertinent and valuable, in this detailed description of the struggle between the pure will of God and the impure will of man, in this patient and most merciful endeavour to unite a divided heart, and to purify a heart tainted with selfish and covetous desires. Any glimpse into a human heart thus at odds with itself could hardly fail to be impressive and instructive, for in

every such heart we may find a reflection of our own. But when we see God ranging Himself on the side of all that is good and pure in such a heart, and seeking by means exquisitely adapted to its needs to recover it to a settled love of truth and a stedfast pursuit of righteousness, we may well be rapt with wonder and with joy at so striking and pathetic an illustration of his love for us and of his method of dealing with us. For if even his anger be a redeeming anger, and his very rebukes be intended for our salvation; if even when we walk in paths of our own choosing He is still leading us, still warning and protecting us against the unseen dangers we have affronted; if He is striving to make us true when we are most untrue, honest when we are most dishonest with Him and with ourselves, pure when we are most impure: if *this* be the secret of his Providence, what is any other secret to us as compared with this? What could more effectually nerve us for our daily struggle with the evil within us, or cast a more welcome and radiant light of hope on the great conflict between good and evil which is going on around us, in the world at large and in every human breast?

That this *was* the end and purpose of God in dealing with Balaam is plain. To whatever depths of infamy he ultimately fell, he was for the time a saved man. Let Balak tempt, let him flatter or browbeat Balaam as he would, day by day the Prophet consistently refused to go against the commandment of the Lord, or to speak any words save those which God put into his mouth. As we follow him from mountain to mountain, weighing every action and word, and half expecting that he will yield to his own base craving or to the pressure put upon him by the disappointed and incensed king, we detect no sign of irresolution in him; no faltering tone falls from his lips; and when at last Balak drives him from his presence with bitter ridicule and contempt, he can honestly and proudly

claim that he has been true to his vow, and has neither done nor said anything, good or bad, of his own mind, but has faithfully uttered the words that were given him to speak.

And why should we doubt that God's purpose in withstanding Balaam is also his purpose in withstanding us? What *can* He desire for us but that we too should rise into a settled love of the truth and a stedfast pursuit of righteousness? If we are to remain men, with discourse of reason, and to be taught why our wills are our own, He cannot stop us by force when we set out in wrong and foolhardy ways; nor, when we have walked in those ways, can He relieve us from the pressure of the evil past we have left behind us. That would be to reduce us from men to mere automata, to degrade us into the mere puppets of his power. He can only permit us to walk on in the paths we have chosen, to gratify our clamorous desire, and take the wage we have thereby earned, and discover how little it is to our mind. Or, if He is to arrest us in our course, it can only be by revealing its dangers to us before we are overwhelmed by them, warning and instructing us by appeals to all that is highest and noblest in us, or by the rebukes of pain and fear and loss. If He makes our way hard, it is that we may leave it; if He permits the consequences of past transgressions to gather round and upon us, it is that we may renounce them; if He teaches us the vanity of our desires by granting them, it is only that we may be henceforth true to our loftier aims. What should, what can He "withstand" us for but to turn us back? Why should He lead us to the dizzy edge of the precipice and light up its depths with the warning flashes of his anger, save that we may recoil from it? What can be his purpose in teaching us that "the end of these things is death," but that we may turn and live?

To the spiritual and attentive heart all the miseries that

wait on sin are but the pangs and sobs of his wounded love, crying to us, "Turn ye, turn ye, why will ye die?" And the great value of the story of Balaam is that it confirms this intuition of the heart, and shews us the love of God streaming through the rebukes with which He visits transgression, and working through them for the redemption of a great yet sordid soul, a soul in which good and evil were blended as in our own. No revelation can be more acceptable or helpful to us than this. As we stand scanning the various ways of men, and marking how strangely good and evil are blended in every soul and therefore in every lot, and how human life is but an evolution from the past conducted along the lines of an iron necessity, so that no man can escape from himself and the conditions which he has created for himself and the punitive consequences of his own deeds, we should altogether lose heart did we not know and believe that this evolution is conducted by a Divine Hand; that a Heart of Mercy beats under the iron necessities of the law by which we are governed; and that the free grace of God is able to quicken a new spirit and therefore a new life in men, and so to set new forces at work for their redemption, nay, to compel even the necessities of pain and shame and loss to contribute to their redemption. And hence it is that the spectacle of this Love and Grace at work for the redemption of a spirit in which the elements were so mixed as they are in us touches us very nearly, and kindles within us a sure and certain hope both for ourselves and for the world.

Here, then, I think we may pause. We have run our small problem up into that great mystery of Necessity and Freewill, against which men have bruised their brains for the last four thousand years; and perchance even that great mystery may have grown a little less oppressive to us if we have learned that, while we are bound by the chains which we and our fathers have forged in the past, all escape from

them is not impossible, since the grace of God may quicken and call into action new and redemptive forces within us which, if only we are true to them and give them free play, will yet raise us from our low and fallen estate, conduct us into new happier conditions, and so lift us into a new and better life.

SAMUEL COX.

SOME CRITICISMS ON THE TRANSLATION OF THE REVISED VERSION.

IN concluding my Article¹ on the uses of *iva*, I drew attention to a curious text, namely verse 18 of 1 Corinthians ix. This central text is an important one, standing midway in a long argument. Like Janus, it looks backward and forward, connecting what precedes with what follows. It is therefore desirable, if possible, so to render the Greek that the English translation shall fit in with what goes before and with what follows. The correctness of the translation appears to depend entirely upon the selection and adoption of the right use of the particle *iva*. Of the three uses of this particle, namely the *definitive* and the *telic* and the *subjectively ecclastic* or use of contemplated result, only two seem to be admissible here. These two are the *telic*, meaning "in order that one may do so and so," and the *subjectively ecclastic*, which denotes "requiring or making it possible that one should," or "inducing, causing one to do so and so." The question then is, which of these two admissible uses will make the passage yield the best sense; which of them will give such a turn to the rendering of the text, as shall place it in logical touch with the foregoing and succeeding contexts. Both the Authorised and Revised Versions have adopted the *telic* or final use of *iva*, rendering

¹ Vol. iii. pp. 653, ff.

“that I may make the gospel without charge.” As the R.V. has translated the last clause of this verse 18 more correctly than the A.V., its rendering shall be given here : “What then is my reward? That when I preach the gospel, I may make the gospel without charge, so as not to use to the full my right in the gospel.” It may be remarked here, by the way, that the word *right* very happily expresses ἐξουσία.

But what is the meaning of the whole passage thus translated in the Revised Version? Has it any meaning at all?

What is the logic of the expression “my reward is that I *may* preach the gospel without charge?” To make this translation yield sense, one of two things seems requisite: either *may* must be identified with *can* (which may not be, cannot be, as ὅτι ἔχω θεῖναι would be required to express that idea), or the word *reward* must be identified with *object* or *design*; which again may not be, cannot be. What is to be done? Is, after all, the definitive use of ἵνα admissible here. Or, if admissible, will it import sense? Will it give such a turn to a new translation, as shall make verse 18 a link of harmony between verses 17 and 19? Is it possible, is it sensible, to render thus—“What is my reward? That I should preach the gospel without charge.” Neither possible is it, nor sensible, to make the “preaching without charge” definitive of the “reward:” for in the first place the form or structure of the sentence is against the definitive use of ἵνα here, and in the next place, even if such use were admissible grammatically, it would not make the sentence fit in logically. The context, for instance, that follows verse 18, shews plainly enough that “preaching gratuitously” is not in itself the “reward,” contemplated by St. Paul, but a *means thereunto*: his preaching comes to view as a long labour of love, earning and accepting no recompense in the present, but pointing the finger of hope to a recompense in the future. To what recompense in the

future? What reward was before the Apostle's mind, when he penned or dictated the words "What then is the reward that I have in view" (τίς οὖν μοι ἐστὶν ὁ μισθός;)? It was, we may infer from verses 19-23, nothing less than a blessed share in the grand Messianic salvation to be revealed at the Parousia. *This*, it seems, was the heavenly magnet that secretly induced the Apostle to preach and to teach without money and without price, ever labouring in the gospel, if by any means he might attain to that palmery salvation, not alone by himself, but in society with a multitude of souls gained and saved by dint of a voluntary evangelism.

The attainment of that *prærogativa σωτηρία*, for which indeed we ourselves daily pray in the versicle, "And grant us Thy salvation," in company with many of his hearers, was an idea seated in the mind of St. Paul; and this seated idea may be regarded as a contemplated cause of a contemplated effect; the effect itself being a persistent refusal on the Apostle's part of that right of maintenance, which *de jure* he might claim from the church, as *de facto* other evangelists did claim. That he refused to avail himself of this privilege or right of ecclesiastical maintenance, is evident from verse 12 of this chapter: where he exclaims to his amanuensis, clearly in tones of triumphant emphasis, *But the fact is we never made use of this privilege!* We never availed ourselves of it! Why, it may be asked, did the Apostle waive this right? Why, rather than accept contributions which were his due, did he prefer to earn a living with his own hands, working as a tent-maker? Answer from this ninth chapter: in order that, after renouncing his right, he might be in a position to preach gratuitously. Why did he desire so much to preach gratuitously? Answer from the same: in order that unfettered by a sense of obligation to Christians inside the Church of Corinth and placed beyond all possible imputa-

tion of mercenary motives from Pagans on the outside—in order that *being*, as he himself says he was in verse 19, *free from all men* and dependent upon none, he might thus be in a position to obtain access to all sorts and conditions of men, and, by that enlargement of access, to win more hearts and to gain more souls. But the crown in view, the goal at the end of this long unpaid labour in preaching to men of all classes, was what he calls in verse 23 *a fellowship with them in the blessings of the gospel*, that is, a fellowship with them in the Messianic salvation, which he hoped himself to reach together with a great number of others brought to the same salvation by the gospel which he had preached to them. The more saved by this preaching of his, the larger hope for him of that Messianic *reward*.

The above views may be inferred as extremely probable from the latter half of this chapter, and if they are correct, it is quite impossible to identify the apostle's *μισθός* or *reward* with his "making the gospel without charge," *i.e.* with preaching gratuitously. It seems therefore that in rendering this text aright the *definitive* use of *iva* is out of the question. Moreover it has been shewn, earlier in this article, that the appliance of the *telic* use, adopted in the A.V. and in the R.V., makes the text yield no sense, none whatsoever. It remains for us, therefore, thus twice repulsed, to fall back upon the *triarii* or third use of *iva*, so serviceable in so many despairing texts. We must summon to our aid the *subjectively ecclastic*. This veteran use of *iva*, on the banner of which is written "contemplated result," has been shewn in a former Article, which discussed this particle, to be in its appliances flexible and manifold, and one that may be expressed in English by *causing* or *inducing* to do so and so, or by *requiring that one should*, ever varying with the varying colour of the context. But in bringing up this reserve a new arrangement must be made in the punctuation, and the mark of interrogation removed

to the end of the text and itself replaced by a comma thus :

τίς οὖν μοι ἐστὶν ὁ μισθός, ἵνα εὐαγγελιζόμενος ἀδάπανον θήσω τὸ εὐαγγέλιον εἰς τὸ μὴ καταχρησασθαι τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ μου ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ;

"What then is the reward for me, that in preaching the gospel I should make the gospel free of charge, so as not to use my right in the gospel?" In other words, "What is the reward before me, the reward of which I spoke just now (verse 17), causing, inducing me to, requiring that I should, make the gospel without charge?" The last clause beginning with εἰς τὸ μὴ clearly denotes a purpose or choice *leading* the writer to decline availing himself of his right of maintenance in doing gospel-work. Precisely similar in construction to the expression "a reward requiring that I should make the gospel free from charge, or inducing me to do so," is the text St. John xviii. 39, "Ye have a custom, that I should release" (ἵνα ἀπολύσω), that is in full, "Ye have a custom of releasing one at the passover, a custom requiring that I should release unto you one at the pass-over, or inducing, causing me to do so." Here in the mind of Pilate, the speaker, the prevailing custom is a contemplated cause of a contemplated result: and quite similarly (in our text) in the mind of St. Paul the *Messianic reward*, or rather a blessed portion in that palmary salvation for himself in common with many others, is precisely a contemplated cause of a contemplated effect, namely, his *refusal of the privilege* or right of maintenance, a refusal itself based upon a prior determination, for good reasons of his own, to preach gratuitously. The above parallel instance from John xviii. 39 is but one out of many parallels that might be cited.

This new translation, amply sanctioned by Greek usage, also yields a good sense inside the text. We now proceed to consider whether it is in harmony with what lies outside,

whether it will be found to hold logical touch with both contexts. It appears to me to fit in with its surroundings well, for several reasons, and because its adoption necessitates, what has twice occurred in this chapter (verses 9 and 10), the elliptical use in verse 19 of γάρ, which must be rendered *why!* or *why surely!* as indeed it is rendered in Luke xxiii. 22, "Why! what evil hath he done?" τί γὰρ κακὸν ἐποίησεν; very common is this use of γάρ. The adoption of this new rendering will also necessitate the correction of a loose translation in both Versions "*though I was free from all*" into "*being free from all.*" This closer and more true translation of ἐλεύθερος ὢν gives a sense precisely opposite to the erroneous rendering "*though I was free from all;*" for it means, when expanded, "Why! being free from all, and because I was free from all, I made my own self a slave to all." Clearly ἐλεύθερος, a big word, is placed first, *being emphatic*, not although it is emphatic but because it is emphatic. More significant, in fact, is the participial clause in this verse 19 than *the verb* of the sentence, "I enslaved myself." Why so? Because it is clearly in the Apostle's mind to shew that in a chain of causes, moving him to abjure his privilege of alien maintenance, the first link is absolute independence of all men, and next to that an untrammelled access to all men, and next to that an enlarged likelihood of gaining a greater number of souls by reason of an universal access, and next to that, the last link in the chain of causes, a fellowship with very many in the Messianic blessedness. No doubt this series of motives, which prompted St. Paul to waive his rights, constitutes the μισθός: and it is an ascending series, the culmination of which is the joint attainment of the great salvation. This long sequence of inducements rolls itself out in the verses from 19 to 24.

We now proceed to ascertain more exactly how the proposed retranslation, based upon the subjectively ecclastic use

of *ἴνα*, tallies with verses 17 and 19. Comments in parentheses will help to explain the following rendering of 17, 18, 19:—

If of choice (waiving my right of maintenance and working without recompense) *I make this my business* (namely to preach the gospel, what then?), *I have a reward: if however not of choice* (if not on the wing of "I will," but on the spur of "I must" I am doing this evangel work—what then?), *a stewardship I hold in trust.* (I am no longer a free agent, independent of others, but I am in the position of a steward strictly accountable to my master: you may now fairly ask, if I do not accept maintenance as other evangelists do) *What then is the reward which I have in view, that when I preach the gospel I should make the gospel without charge, leading me to make no use of my right in the gospel? Why!* (it is this) *being free from all men, I made myself a slave to all men:* that is, expanded, what is the reward before me, inducing me to make the gospel without charge and therefore to make no use of my privilege? Why surely, declining to avail myself of my right of maintenance, and consequently being in a position to preach the gospel without costs to any, I was unfettered and independent of all: unrestricted by a sense of obligation to a church recompensing my labours. I was at the same time invulnerable to shafts of slander from outsiders misrepresenting my motives: thus I could work with both hands untied: my disinterestedness was unimpeachable, disarming suspicion even: and being thus free from all, I was at liberty to enslave myself to all, and I did enslave myself to all because I was at liberty so to do.

It may be further observed, the emphatic position of *ἐμαυτόν* seems to indicate a silent contrast between the Apostle's self-enslavement to all and the would-be enslavement of him to themselves by certain members of the Corinthian Church, who wished to place him under some

restraint or obligation by maintaining him at their own expense. But he was *ἐκὼν*: he steered his own course; and instead of some making him a servant to some, he himself made himself a servant to all. It is also obvious that the emphatic *ἐλεύθερος* suggests the less emphatic *ἰδούλωσα*, making a vivid oxymoron, a figure in which the Apostle somewhat delighted (see 1 Cor. vi. 12).

In this proposed retranslation of verse 18 it should be noticed that there are three or four factors which go to make up the sum of the retranslation. Of these, three at least stand together or fall together. The first and principal factor is the subjectively ecclastic use of *ἵνα*. The second is the elliptical use of *γάρ*. The third is the accurate rendering *being free from all*. The fourth, but least significant number, is a correct rendering of *μοι ὁ μισθός*, which may not, cannot be identified with *μου ὁ μισθός*, that it should be rendered (or shall I say, "requiring it to be rendered," *ἵνα μεθερμηνευθῇ*), as it is rendered in both versions, *my reward*. The learned Revisers, who have thought proper to wink at the difference between *μοι ὁ μισθός* and *μου ὁ μισθός*, have precisely in the same manner in Ephesians vi. 12 treated *οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πάλη*, as if it were *οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῶν ἡ πάλη*, rendering "*our* wrestling is not." This cannot be called a happy turn; rather the sense is, "There is not for us, there is not in store for us, the wrestling against blood and flesh." Compare, amongst other parallels, Soph. Œd. Col. 188

*οὐκ ἔστι σοι ταῦτ', ἀλλὰ σοὶ τὰδ', ἔστ' ἐκεῖ
χώρας ἀλάστωρ οὐμὸς ἐνναίων αἰέ.*

"Not (in reserve) for thee are those issues, but for thee this is in store, my avenging spirit yonder dwelling for aye."

T. S. EVANS.

BRIEF NOTICES.

It is very natural that men who have laboriously acquired some mastery of Rabbinical Hebrew should at first value, and over-value, the literature to which it gives them access. But there is a danger before them of which they are seldom aware, the danger of being infected by the tone and method of that literature, and so degenerating into the habits of the most inaccurate and illiberal class of expositors the world has seen, if indeed they can be called expositors who simply wrest the word of God out of its natural and proper sense. To translate and annotate one of the Rabbinical treatises may be a wholesome scholastic exercise; but if the *Rev. Edward G. King, B.D.*, really imagines, as he appears to do, that *THE YALKUT ON ZECHARIAH* (Cambridge: Deighton Bell & Co.), which he has been at the pains to translate, possesses any exegetical value, we need no other proof that his Rabbinical studies have already overpowered his English common sense. And there is too much reason to fear that he does approve some at least of the stupid Jewish conceits, which in the Yalkut take the place of sound historical interpretation: for more than once he avows that he believes them to have a real exegetical value, though he admits that they will be "quite new to Christian commentators," and though they are even more incredible than new. Here are a few illustrations of the impossible nonsense which passes for interpretation of Holy Writ with the Rabbis and their admirers and disciples. The gloss on Zechariah i. 8 runs thus: "Rabbi Yochai (or Yochanan) said *I saw Night*, (i.e.) the Holy One, blessed be He, was about to turn the whole universe into Night; when however He bethought Himself of Chananyah, Misael, and Azaryah, He was appeased, as it is said *He was staying among the Myrtles which were in the M'tzulah* (depth). Now *Myrtles* (Hadassim) mean (here) nothing else than *Saints*, as it is said (Esth. ii. 7), *And he was bringing up Hadassah* (i.e. Esther); and the *M'tzuiah* (depth) means nothing else than *Babylon*, as it is said (Is. xlv. 27), *He saith to the Tzulah* (depth) *be thou dry*." And here is a note appended to Chapter ii., verse 2, which sounds more like a lunatic's recollection of something he had read in the Arabian Nights than an exegetical annotation in a grave religious treatise: "There is a tradition that Rabbi Yose said, I myself saw Sephoris in its prosperity, and there were therein a hundred and eighty thousand streets of pastrycooks!"

And here is another, which might have had a similar origin, in Chapter iii., verse 2: "Rabbi Joshua ben Levi says, The Angel of Death told me, Never do you stand before the women when they are returning from a funeral, because I go leaping before them and I (then) have permission to injure. But suppose one has met him (i.e. the Angel of Death)? what must be his resource? Let him spring four cubits from his place, or if there be a river let him cross over it, or if there be another road let him turn into it, or if there be a wall let him stand behind it, but if not let him turn his face and say, *And the Eternal said unto Satan*," etc. Every clergyman will know what to think of Rabbi Joshua ben Levi after that; for which of them has not had, alas! to stand before women when they were returning from a funeral, and has neither repeated the appointed formula of rebuke, nor sprang four cubits from his place, neither crossed a river, nor turned into another road, nor even hid himself behind a wall, and yet has not found himself in any special danger from the leaping angel of death? But who will tell us what to think of a clergyman who gravely translates and publishes this preposterous rubbish, and offers it to us as an aid to a due understanding of God's most Holy Word? Are the writings of Zechariah so easy to read, or are good commentaries on them so plentiful, that any man who, by virtue of his capacity and scholarship, might help us to read them with intelligence should waste his time and gifts on the absurd litter of this Rabbinical *Pouch* (Yalkut = "purse" or "bag") which, for all the real aims of life and learning, is about as valuable as the contents of an average schoolboy's pocket?

The mere waste is pitiful when the church and the world so sorely need all the help good men can give to a wise and scientific interpretation of Scripture; but it is still more pitiful to see men of some learning and ability degenerating under the Rabbinical influence, and throwing about them such ill considered and uncritical data as may be found in Mr. King's appendix. As for example, this: "It is to the sufferings of the Captivity that we owe the three noblest poems in the Bible, 'Job,' 'Jonah,' and 'the Servant of the Lord' (Is. liii.). Job, the ideal sufferer, represents Israel, upon whom every possible suffering falls. In Jonah the thought is carried still farther; we see, in him, Israel suffering for the world," etc. There are almost as many blunders here as words. "Jonah" is *not* one of the three noblest poems in the Bible. It is hardly possible that any one of the three poems named should date from the Captivity. Job

was not a representative of suffering Israel, nor was Jonah. But it is almost as childish to deny, as to affirm, these critical improbabilities or impossibilities, the rather as Mr. King does not condescend to argue for them, having apparently adopted the Rabbinical idea of logic, When you want to prove what you have said, say it again. And we must conclude by wishing him well out of the Rabbinical fog into which he has so heedlessly plunged.

SERMONS PREACHED IN THE CHAPEL OF HARROW SCHOOL. *By the late Rev. T. H. Steel, M.A.* (London: Macmillans). Very wholesome sermons for the Harrow boys to hear these sermons must have been. 'Tis evident that Mr. Steel took pains to select suitable topics, and short striking texts. In his treatment of them, too, he shews much sympathy with the prevailing currents of thought and emotion, a real knowledge of the doubts bred by the application of physical tests and methods to meta-physical facts and phenomena, and some skill in meeting them; while yet he rarely oversteps the limits within which an educated and thoughtful lad might follow him, and never fails to infuse a tone of true godliness into his expositions and appeals. But we have not found in these discourses any of those touches of imagination or genius in virtue of which alone sermons can be expected to live, or to work for good much beyond the bounds of the congregation that listened to them. Doubtless they will prove a very welcome memorial of a man much respected and beloved to those who knew him; but, to outsiders, the main charm of this little volume will lie in the prefatory memoir contributed by Professor Nettleship, which is admirably written, and leaves a very pleasant impression of the scholar and the man whom it describes.

In his book on *Canonicity, Dr. Charteris*, rendered a great service to scholars by collecting into a single volume the ancient testimonies to the authorship and authenticity of the New Testament Scriptures and their early admission into the Canon. In the Croall Lectures for last year, now published under the title *THE NEW TESTAMENT SCRIPTURES: THEIR CLAIMS, HISTORY, AND AUTHORITY* (London: Nisbets), he has rendered a similar and equal service to unlearned but intelligent readers. He here shews in a lively and telling way how the eight or nine Apostles or Apostolic men whose writings compose the New Testament advance for their Scriptures a claim to truth, unity, and authority altogether unparalleled in the sacred

books of the world; and how these Scriptures were accepted by the Church and stamped with her approval, just as the Hebrew Scriptures were accepted by the Synagogue. He describes the conditions under which the Canon was formed or rather grew, adduces the evidence by which the Church was convinced of the inspiration and authority of the Scriptures they included in it: and in adducing this evidence he briefly but graphically characterizes the men who bore it and the documents from which it is drawn. We doubt whether it would be possible to find elsewhere, and in the same compass, a summary of the grounds on which we receive the Scriptures of the New Testament Canon so scholarly, interesting, and fair-minded as this. The author is thoroughly loyal to his own fine maxim: "In the search for truth, we can have no help save from what is true."

IN AUTHORIZED OR REVISED? (London: Macmillans) *Dr. Vaughan* has struck out the best possible line of argument in defence of our New Version,—all the better because there is so little formal argument in it. Instead of engaging in a critical defence of the changes which the Revisers have introduced into their Version—though he occasionally offers suggestions which have their critical value—he takes up some of the principal changes, brings out their meaning and force, and shews how much we gain by them. His samples, moreover, are fairly chosen, and include some of those which at first sight are most unwelcome to the indolent or prejudiced reader. And having selected his texts, he justifies the corrections made in them in the most effectual and persuasive way, by bringing out the truths affirmed or implied in them, and indicating how the truths conveyed in these new readings or renderings harmonize both with the several sequences of thought in which they are found, and with the general scope of the New Testament revelation.

The accomplished Master of the Temple publishes so many sermons and volumes of sermons that, among them, there must be some of an inferior quality, and some which are likely to detract from his reputation and usefulness rather than to add to them. But in these "Sermons on Some of the Texts in which the Revised Version differs from the Authorized" he is at his best. They are full of valuable suggestions to preachers as well as to hearers, and cannot fail to give those who peruse them much food for devout

meditation, as well as a clearer view of the merits of the New Version, than they are likely to get elsewhere.

Mr. Beet, whose commentary on the *Romans* has already won for him "a good degree" among New Testament scholars, now follows it up with *A COMMENTARY ON ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS* (London: Hodder and Stoughton), which is as painstaking, as methodical, as scholarly as his previous work, and can hardly fail to add to his reputation. There is an immense amount of careful and patient labour compressed into his clear cut sentences and sententious pages. Now and then, in his desire to be brief, and his determination to avoid that vain repetition of other interpretations and opinions than his own, apart from any consideration of their intrinsic worth, which is the besetting sin of most commentators, he fails to consider, or to *shew* that he has considered, readings which deserve or even demand consideration: *e.g.* in 1 Corinthians ii. 13, where in dealing with the final clause of the verse he takes no note of Canon Evans's valuable suggestion, "*Matching spiritual things with spiritual phrase*," or, better still, "*suiting spiritual things to spiritual minds*." On the other hand, what can be happier, in so small a compass, than his summary of 1 Corinthians iii. 14, 15? "The picture may be thus conceived. Two workmen are building on one foundation, one with imperishable, the other with perishable, materials. The building is wrapped in flames. One man's work survives the fire, and he receives pay for it. The other's work is burned up, and he rushes out through the flame, leaving behind him the ruins of his own work. And for his work, which the fire proved to be worthless, he receives no pay." The Commentary, which has this peculiar distinction that as it proceeds it seeks to gather up the leading conceptions of the Apostle and to weave them into a system, is the fruit of much toil and much thought, and will well repay all who study it.

FULFILLED PROPHECY IN PROOF OF THE TRUTH OF SCRIPTURE, by *Rev. B. W. Savile, M.A.* (London: Longmans). In slipshod English Mr. Savile sets himself to explain and vindicate the predictions of Holy Writ on a principle which is, in our judgment, radically and hopelessly wrong, and which can only conduct him to erroneous conclusions. It will however be time enough to review him when he has mastered his native language. An M.A. who has not grasped the simple mysteries of the English grammar is

not precisely the man to whom we should look for a solution of the profound mysteries of Apocalyptic literature.

THE REASONABLENESS OF CHRISTIANITY, by *William Metcalfe*, (Paisley: A. Gardner). If these sermons are, as we suspect, written by a young man, they shew signs of hope and promise. Their author is a little more over-weighted by his subject than he seems to be aware. To demonstrate the reasonableness of the leading Christian doctrines, and the irrationality of the objections alleged against them by the scientific scepticism of the day, is a task for which few men are adequately equipped. Nevertheless there is in these sermons a breadth and catholicity of tone, an evident desire for the truth as it is, and a sincerity of conviction, which render them, so far as they go, a real help to perplexed and doubtful minds.

THE POPULAR COMMENTARY ON THE NEW TESTAMENT, edited by *Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D.* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark), has reached its third volume. Of Vol. II. we gave some account on its appearance (Vol. I. never reached us by the bye); and we have now to report that in the present volume *Romans* is handled by Drs. Schaff and Riddle, *Corinthians* by Dr. David Brown, *Galatians* by Dr. Schaff, *Ephesians* by Dr. Riddle, *Philippians* by Dr. Lumby, *Colossians* by Dr. Riddle, *Thessalonians* by Dr. Marcus Dodds, *Timothy* by Dean Plumptre, *Titus* by Dr. Dykes, *Philemon* by Dr. Lumby. As yet, therefore, only two American scholars, Dr. Schaff and Dr. Riddle, have contributed to this international Commentary, although, as they took the four Gospels between them, they may be allowed to have done their fair share of the work. And much of the work is fairly good, marked by sound learning and sober thought, a little very good, and a little, in our judgment, very inadequate, insufficient in scholarship and wrong in tone. On the whole it is not comparable in value with the New Testament Commentary edited by Bishop Ellicott and published by Cassells. Yet there are expositions in it with which no student can afford to dispense. In Vol. II., for instance, the exposition of St. John's Gospel by Professors Milligan and Moulton is one of remarkable value; while in this volume Dr. Plumptre's exposition of St. Paul's Epistles to Timothy is also of unusual excellence, not only the best in the volume, but also, so far as our reading extends, the best which has yet appeared. But of Dr. Brown's exposition of the

Epistles to the Corinthians we cannot speak in any terms of praise. Not only does it fall far below that of Mr. Beet, and by consequence immeasurably below the level of the strikingly powerful and original exposition which Canon Evans contributed to the *Speaker's Commentary*: it is of no critical worth, while its tone is most unfortunate and objectionable. His comment on 1 Corinthians i. 17 is but one of many illustrations of the tone to which we object. Part of it runs thus: "To a people thoroughly vitiated in their taste, to what temptation would the preacher of the gospel be more open than that of shading off those features of it which are repulsive to the pride of the heart, and of urging the reception of it rather on the ground of its own 'sweet reasonableness' than of its being an authoritative message from heaven, as on Mars' Hill the apostle dealt it forth at Athens." Is it, then, so much more virtuous to bow to mere authority than to recognize and rejoice in the reasonableness and charm of the gospel message, its adaptation to human needs, its power to uplift men from the ruins of the fall, its revelation of the amazing wisdom and grace of God? And could anything be more unfortunate than the citation of the example of St. Paul, the great legislator of the New Testament, who was for ever appealing to the reason of men, unless it be the selection of the discourse on Mars' Hill, which has always and justly been accounted a masterpiece of courtesy, persuasion, and argument, and than which it would be difficult to find a more perfect model of the very "rhetoric" which Dr. Brown denounces? Is the gospel unreasonable? If it be, how should a creature with discourse of reason accept it? If it be not, why are we for ever to appeal to authority to enforce it, and never to its intrinsic reasonableness and worth? And, above all, why are those who seek to commend it to the hearts of men by appealing to its inherent reasonableness, its power to meet and satisfy all their needs, to be accused of "shading off those features of it which are repulsive to the *pride* of the heart"? Did Apollos do that? Yet it was probably Apollos who went to Corinth with "wisdom of words," while St. Paul, becoming all things to all men and adapting himself to the immature spiritual condition of the Corinthian converts, spoke to them as to babes rather than as to men in Christ Jesus.

THE PULPIT COMMENTARY (London: Kegan Paul & Co.), whatever other merits it may have, is anything but concise. Doubtless

it is intended mainly for those occupants of the pulpit who, unable to make sermons for themselves, are glad to have homilies, or the outlines of homilies, put into their hands. The pity is that, if they must steal their brooms, they do not steal them ready-made and from the best makers. It would surely be far wiser to give their people some of the noble discourses of which our literature is remarkably full, on the avowed ground of lack of leisure or ability, than to inflict on them homilies half borrowed from second or tenth rate men and slovenly filled up from their own scanty resources. The scheme of the Pulpit Commentary has never, as our readers know, found favour with us. Yet it must be admitted, as we have been forward to admit, that its expository parts have been of fair average worth, and occasionally of singular worth. The new volume, which contains an exposition of *Deuteronomy*, by Rev. W. L. Alexander, D.D., is not of any exceptional value, but it is fairly well written from the purely orthodox point of view. If it exhibits few traces of originality, or of profound spiritual insight, or of power to handle the difficult critical questions which have been raised on the authorship, date, form of this remarkable Scripture, so rich in magnificent orations, its exegesis shews that it is in the hands of a careful and adequately furnished scholar who has taken pains with his work. The homilies are of the usual, *i.e.* not of a high, calibre.

A few months since we spoke in terms of high and deserved commendation of THE PARALLEL NEW TESTAMENT, published by the Oxford University Press. We have now received it in two new forms. The first is a charming little pocket edition, bound in flexible morocco, which simply reproduces the English Versions of A.D. 1611 and A.D. 1881. Nothing could well be more convenient or more beautifully got up. The second is for students; a large crown octavo, in plain stiff covers. On the left hand page the two English Versions are printed in parallel columns, with their respective Marginal notes; while half the right hand page contains the Greek text followed by the Revisers, with its Marginal readings, and the other half is left vacant for any manuscript annotations the student may care to make. The former will no doubt prove very popular with the general public; the latter is likely to become the working copy of most critical students of the New Testament: unless indeed they prefer a similar volume—also with the two English Versions on the one page, and on the other the Textus

Receptus with the variations adopted by the Revisers, issued from the Cambridge University Press, under the editorial care of Dr. Scrivener. There is so little difference between the two that we do not see any need for this rivalry between the University Presses, nor can we thank them for "puzzling the will" by compelling choice between them. We must leave every man to make his own selection. Either will do equally well; but he will not require both.

Two new volumes have been added to THE CAMBRIDGE BIBLE FOR SCHOOLS since we last noticed it: *The Book of Judges* by Rev. J. J. Lias, M.A., and the second part of *The Acts of the Apostles* (Chapters xv.-xxviii.) by Professor J. R. Lumby, D.D. Both these Scriptures are admirably annotated; and the two new volumes are fully worthy of their place in this most useful series. We have found no books so well adapted to the needs of Sunday School teachers, and of those private students of the Scriptures—a class which happily is largely and rapidly increasing—who, though they have little Greek and less Hebrew, or even none of either, desire to be guided in their reading by scholars whose attainments and fairmindedness they can thoroughly trust. The very brevity of the notes, since they touch all points of difficulty, renders them the more acceptable.

A valuable addition has also been made to THE CAMBRIDGE GREEK TESTAMENT FOR SCHOOLS. Dr. Plummer's notes on *The Gospel according to St. John* are scholarly, concise, and instructive, and embody the results of much thought and wide reading.

The high merits of MEYER'S COMMENTARY ON THE NEW TESTAMENT (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark) are so well known and have been so freely admitted that we need only announce that three new volumes of it have appeared, Lünemann treating the Epistle to the Hebrews, and Huther the Epistles of Peter and Jude, James and John. So much of that which is best in this great work has now found its way into general use, and may so easily be found in a more succinct form in modern English commentaries, that it is no longer indispensable, as it was a few years since, for every student of the Greek Testament to possess himself of it; but no scholar would willingly be without it, and none who intends to write on any New Testament Scripture can safely dispense with it.

THE EXEGESIS OF THE SCHOOLMEN.

It is my object in these Papers to furnish some estimate as to the value of the Exegesis of the Schoolmen. In the brief space which I shall allow myself it may be impossible to give even a general view of the whole subject, or to mention all the names of those who worked in this field. But I hope to sketch with some completeness of outline the *predominant characteristics* of those long centuries of Scriptural study. My objects in doing this will appear as we proceed. If it be a law

“As certain as the throne of Zeus

that

“Our days are heritors of days gone by,”

we may be sure that the exegesis of five or six hundred years has not passed away without leaving deep traces of its existence in our modern systems of Biblical interpretation.

The Greek word *σχολαστικὸς* first occurs in a letter of Theophrastus.¹ In Latin it is first found in Petronius.² In the Middle Ages it was applied to the teachers and learners in the universities, and it entirely lost the grotesque associations of eccentric abstractedness and pedantic erudition by which it is surrounded in the *Ἀσπερία* or *Facetiae*, wrongly attributed to the authorship of the Neo-Platonist Hierocles.

The technical use of the word to describe the great thinkers and writers of the mediæval Church arose as

¹ *Apud Diog. Laert.*, v. 50.

² *Petron., Satyr.*, 6.

follows. By the close of the fourth century after Christ Christianity was firmly established throughout the limits of the Roman Empire. The world in general, resigning the exercise of all independent thought as regards religion, submitted itself with more and more passivity to the authority of Bishops, Fathers, Councils, and theologians. Then the floods of Northern and Eastern barbarians—Goths, Vandals, Sarmatians, Gepidæ, Alani, Heruli, Huns, Suevi, Saxons, Burgundians—burst in, wave after wave, upon the West. It was natural that learning should all but perish in the storm.¹ "Woe to our days," exclaims Geoffrey of Tours, in the prelude to his History of the Franks, "for the pursuit of letters has perished from among us." The most fertile and eloquent moralist of his age was Gregory the Great († 604); and hearing that Didier, Archbishop of Vienna, had attempted to restore schools and teach grammar, the chief theologian of his age wrote, almost in the words which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Jack Cade²—"Sine verecundiâ memorare non possumus fraternitatem tuam. Grammaticam quibusdam exponere! . . . Quam grave nefandumque!"³ Fortunatus, a poetic Bishop of this period,⁴ even confessed that he had not only not read the great Greeks, but not even the chief Fathers, and that many in his day said that it was no time to be writing dissertations on Scripture.

It was after an epoch which was thus "the most ignorant, the darkest, the most barbarous which France had ever seen," that the Emperor Karl, rightly named the Great, seeing that learning still existed in Italy, wished to revive

¹ *Hist. Lit. de France*, vol. ii. p. 8, seqq.

² *Henry VI.*, Part II. Act iv. sc. 7. "Thou hast most traitorously corrupted the youth of the realm, in erecting a grammar school. It will be proved to thy face, that thou hast men about thee that usually talk of a noun, and a verb; and such abominable words as no Christian ear can endure to hear."

³ *Greg. Magn., Epp.* xi. 54. See Hauréau, *Hist. de la Philos. Scholat.*, pp. 1-16.

⁴ He died about A.D. 609.

it in France also. About the year 787 he addressed to his Bishops the circular letter which Ampère calls "the constituent charter of modern thought." He summoned Alcuin of York to help him in this noble task, and schools began to arise in many places. In these schools the teaching was devoted to the *trivium*, the three arts of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectic; and the *quadrivium*, or the four sciences of Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy. These together were regarded as the "Seven Liberal Arts."

The teachers, writers, and leading thinkers trained on this system are those whom we now denote by the name of "the Schoolmen."¹ The period of the Schoolmen lasted, roughly speaking, from A.D. 800 to A.D. 1500—that is, over a period of no less than seven centuries.

Hauréau, one of the best historians of the scholastic philosophy, divides the age of scholasticism into two periods: (1) From Alcuin to the end of the twelfth century. (2) From Alexander of Hales († 1245) to John Gerson († 1429). Ueberweg, in his learned "History of Philosophy," adopts a nearly similar division, namely, (1) From the semi-independence of thought shewn by John Scotus Erigena († circ. 880) and the accommodation of Aristotelian logic and Neo-Platonic philosophemes to the doctrine of the Church, down to the beginning of the thirteenth century. (2) From Alexander of Hales († 1245) and the complete amalgamation of Aristotelianism with Catholicism, down to the Renaissance.

With Scholasticism, however, as a system of philosophy, and even as a system of formal theology, we are only indirectly concerned. We shall here consider the Schoolmen solely in the light of *Expositors*, and shall be able to do so without entering into any history of the disputes between Aristotelians and Neo-Platonists, Nominalists and Realists, or Thomists and Scotists. For the history of scholastic

¹ Or, as in our 18th Article, "the school authors."

interpretation it is more important to note in due time the different schools of Dialecticians and Mystics, though the greatest of Dialecticians shew the marked influence of mysticism, and the greatest Mystics were unable to shake themselves entirely free from dialectic formalism and subtle speculation.

For our purpose, therefore, the division adopted by Triebachovius in his fierce assault on Scholasticism,¹ or by Diestel, in his *Geschichte des Alten Testaments*, will be more convenient. Triebachovius divides the scholastic period into three epochs—(1) the first, from its commencement down to Albertus Magnus, † 1230; (2) the second, from the time of St. Thomas and St. Bonaventura down to Durandus, † 1296; (3) the third, from Durandus down to the Reformation. Diestel considers the exegesis of these centuries under the two heads of—

1. The Dark Ages, A.D. 600-1100.

2. The Papal Supremacy, A.D. 1100-1517.

(i.) In the earlier part of the Dark Ages the Church was occupied in endeavouring to convert the heathen and to bring them into allegiance to the chair of St. Peter. During these centuries—the seventh and eighth—there was very little exegesis. When anything which could be so called began, it had degenerated into the merest compilation. It was the age of glosses and catenæ—the mere “sediments,” as Merx calls them, “of Patristic exposition.” The Fathers at this period are seldom named even in the margin. The interpretations, such as they are, are glossatory and homiletic, mixed up with dialectic definitions and impossible inquiries. The glossators exercise a certain cleverness in weaving together their selections, but they shew a complete absence of apprehension as to what ex-

¹ Triebachovius, *De Doctrinis Sch. Latine acque corrumpi per eos doctrinarum humanarumque rerum scientia*. 1665. The Abbé Glaise calls this pamphlet “*Année de l'enthousiasme et d'une haute aveugle*.”

gesis—according to all modern conceptions—really is, and of the functions which it should endeavour to perform.

Indeed, these glosses are hardly to be reckoned as exegesis at all, so far as the idea of exegesis involves any originality. They are the mere “glimmering and decays” of genuine interpretation. Avowedly secondhand and slavishly dependent, they exclude as needless and even as undesirable the vigour of independent thought. Even the research which they display is very limited. They profess to be derived from the Fathers, but they are really drawn from very few of them.¹ Those Greek Fathers only are used whose works existed in a Latin translation, and the list of Fathers who might be quoted with applause and safety was traditionally limited. Thus Origen was very little consulted, and the great scholars of Antioch—even such men as Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret—who were among the ablest of all ancient commentators, were almost totally neglected. Compilation, to a greater or less extent, prevailed alike throughout the Eastern and Western Churches for many centuries, and consequently there was no progress. The slumbrous repetition of very fallible opinions, the abject prostration of the intellect at the feet of fellow-mortals of no special greatness and of very limited knowledge, was a fatal hindrance to the development of profound religious thought.

In the Greek Church, Procopius of Gaza,² in the sixth century, seems to have set the fashion of *variorum* commentaries. Bishop Aretas, in his Apocalyptic Commentary, followed Cyril, and his predecessor, Bishop Andreas. Niketas and Euthymius Zigabenus, in the eleventh century, wrote *catenæ*, which, in the case of the latter, were mainly drawn from St. Chrysostom. Theophylact, though a man

¹ See Klausen, *Hermeneutik*, § 2.

² Ernesti has written a monograph, *De Procopii Gaz. Commentariis*. See too Fabricius, *Bibl. Græc.*, vii. 727.

of ability and independence, must, as Cardinal Bellarmine says, be mainly regarded as "Chrysostomi abbreviator."

In the Latin Church BEDE († 735) tells us that all his life he had been a student of the Fathers, and in his Hexæmeron he announces that his plan is "to cull" from the writings of Basil, Ambrose, and Augustine "as from the most delightful fields of a flowering Paradise what might seem to suffice for the needs of the weaker." He also made large use of Jerome. Alcuin († 804), as a commentator on Ecclesiastes, only writes, as it were "a breviary from the works of the Holy Fathers, and especially from St. Jerome." His book on Genesis is entirely drawn from Jerome and Gregory the Great. In other commentaries he tells us that he "confines himself as much as possible to the very words of Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, and Bede, lest he should seem presumptuous or express anything contrary to the meaning of the Fathers." When Gisla and Rectruda, the two daughters of Charlemagne, wrote to entreat Alcuin to furnish them with a commentary on St. John, they said, as though it were a matter of course, "*Venerabiles sanctorum Patrum pande sensus. Collige multorum margaritas.*" RABANUS MAURUS († 856) derives his commentary from fourteen of the Fathers. PASCHASIUS RABBERTUS († 865), Remigius, Hervæus Dolensis, Claudius of Turin, Haymo of Halberstadt, Christian Druthmar, Anselm of Laon and a multitude of other writers follow in the same facile and unfruitful path. Notker Balbulus, a monk of St. Gall († 912) wrote a treatise "on the Interpreters of Scripture," and so completely had exegesis dwindled into the multiplication of common-place books of extracts, that he cautions all writers against abandoning the authority of "the Fathers;" approves of the proverb,—

"Si Augustinus adest sufficit ipse tibi;"

and lays down the rule, "In St. Matthew let Jerome

suffice for you ; in St. Mark, the follower (*pedissequus*) of St. Matthew, let Bede the follower of Jerome suffice." In the letter to Hugo, *De modo et ordine legendi Scripturas Sacras* (circ. 1170), the best aids to Scripture are said to be Isidore's *Etymologies*, Jerome's *Monasticon*, the *Glossa*, the *Quæstiones* and *De Civitate Dei*, of Augustine, and the *Candela* of Girlandus, which was a selection of opinions from Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory. Now any one who knows anything at all about Patristic exegesis knows that, although it has a greatness and value of its own, it still teems with the gravest errors—errors as to fact, errors as to translation, errors as to history, errors as to interpretation, fundamental errors of principle. In the glosses and *catenæ* these errors are very rarely, if ever, corrected ; no new sources of knowledge are opened ; no fresh facts are brought to bear ; no principles are amended. In such an age there could be nothing which could be called advance. Yet Fabricius says that there were hundreds of different *catenæ* in the Royal Library of France, and they continued to be written long after the age of progress had at least dawned. Even ALBERTUS MAGNUS, as a commentator, cannot claim any higher rank than that of an epitomist ; and the laborious *Catena* of St. Thomas Aquinas on the four Gospels—the celebrated *Catena Aurea* as it was afterwards called—is confessedly a compilation from eighty authors. These authors—especially Augustine, Hilary, Origen, Chrysostom, Rabanus, Remigius, Bede, Alcuin, Anselm—could not have been condensed and woven together without that "masterly and architectonic skill" which Cardinal Newman attributes to the Angelic Doctor, yet the *catena* adds little or nothing to what was previously known. St. Thomas had studied Augustine so thoroughly that it was the common proverb of the schools that, had the doctrine of metempsychosis been true, the soul of Augustine must have migrated into that of St.

Thomas.¹ Similarly it was the glory of Hugo of St. Victor to be known as "the tongue of Augustine." Claudius of Turin calls Augustine "a pen of the Trinity, a tongue of the Holy Ghost, a mortal man but a heavenly angel." The main exegetical work at which the Schoolmen aimed was not to originate, but to compile and to reproduce. And yet, as Bacon points out, their writings, so far from being brief and compact, were expanded "into large commentaries, or into commonplaces and titles, which grew to be more vast than the original writings," so that "their volumes are greater much than the writings of the Fathers. And," he adds, "this course of sums and commentaries is that which doth infallibly make the body of sciences more immense in quantity and more base in substance."²

(ii.) The glosses were of two kinds, distinguished as *continuous* or *ordinary*, and *interlinear*.

The most celebrated gloss of this epoch was that compiled by WALAFRID STRABO, about the middle of the 9th century. He was a Benedictine monk of the Abbey of Fulda, and a pupil of Rabanus Maurus. He subsequently became Abbot of Reichenau. His gloss upon the whole Bible was derived exclusively from the writings of the Fathers, and for six centuries "enjoyed the authority of an oracle."³ It was doubtless, as Erasmus says, constantly increased by subsequent additions.⁴ PETER LOMBARD, the Master of the Sentences, briefly refers to it as *auctoritas*—"The Authority says"—a reference which was regarded as being no less decisive than the *Ἀὐτὸς ἔφα* of the ancient Pythagoreans. It was sometimes called "The Tongue of Scripture." St. Thomas Aquinas not only quotes it constantly, but even sometimes explains it as reverently as if it were the text of Scripture itself. Similarly Albertus

¹ Sixt. Senensis, *Bibl.*, iv. 308.

² *Advancement of Learning*, ii.

³ On the various editions of this gloss see, *Hist. lit. de France*, vol. v. p. 62.

⁴ Erasmus, *Dedicat. in paraphr.* 1 Ep. Petri.

Magnus, St. Thomas Aquinas, and others comment on the prologues of St. Jerome. There could hardly be a more striking proof of the decadence and non-progressiveness of Scriptural interpretation, than the immense prestige acquired by this collection of patristic extracts. For it is at the best a heterogeneous collection of quotations, made with very little judgment and guided by no clear principle. It passes over numberless real difficulties *sicco pede*, after the fashion of editors in all ages who

" Each dark passage shun
And hold their farthing candle to the sun."

It creates numberless difficulties which it does nothing to solve. It abandons the literal sense for all kinds of fantastic and allegoric meanings, of no value in themselves, and which have no real bearing on the elucidation of the text. Luther, in the days when he was still in the Augustinian Monastery at Erfurt (till 1508), used only the *Glossa Ordinaria*, and had a prejudice even against the Postils of Nicolas of Lyra. The *Glossa interlinearis* was by ANSELM OF LAON († 1117). Being written between the lines of the text it was necessarily very brief. Instead of explaining obscure passages it often furnishes mystic senses which are purely arbitrary, and its etymologies are as puerile as they ever must be in an age to which comparative philology was entirely unknown.

(iii.) By way of passing illustration, let me quote one or two specimens of the exegesis of this age. Here is the note of the *Glossa Ordinaria* on Gen. ix. 13. "The Rainbow has two colours, blue and fiery, which indicate the two judgments of the world; one, which is past, by water; the other, by fire, which we believe will come at the end of the world. For which reason the blue colour is outside, the fire inside"! RABANUS MAURUS quotes Gen. xlix. 12. "His teeth shall be white with milk" as an Allegory of the

Apostles (!) because they cut away men from errors, and as it were by devouring them transfer them into the body of Christ! HAYMO OF HALBERSTADT wrote a commentary on the Psalms. Erasmus, who edited this commentary in 1533, calls him "a spiritual bee who culled from the most flowery meadows of all the ancients," and characterises his commentary as "pious, brief, and lucid." Yet here is his comment on the first Psalm: "The common subject of the whole work is Christ, understood in three ways; *i.e.*, according to his Divinity, according to his Humanity, according to his Body. But that which is inserted about contrary things, that is impious demons, is not inserted as belonging to the chief subject, but as subservient to it. He treats this subject thus; he shews the power of the Divinity, the perfection of the Humanity of Christ, the universality of the holiness of his members, the conversion of sinners, etc." Can anything be more misleading and untenable than this, when offered as *genuine interpretation*? CHRISTIAN DRUTHMAR (about 860) shews himself far superior to most of the compilers of his age in independence, knowledge, and good sense. Yet in commenting on "*Liber generationis Jesu Christi*," he thinks it necessary in a prolix and otiose way to tell us that "*liber*" does not only mean "a book," but also "free," and "the bark of a tree!" And in the Lord's Prayer he derives "*panis*" from *πᾶν* "all."

(iv.) Few works of serious-minded men are absolutely valueless, though they may be rendered nugatory by the errors and limitations of the age to which they belong. The glosses were in many respects highly valuable and useful. Their homiletic appeals, their moral reflexions, even their interpretations of passages which were not beset by various difficulties were important in proportion to the knowledge, piety, and acumen of the Fathers from which they were derived. It was interesting and instructive to see what the ancient Doctors of the Church had said, in an age when it

was not only burdensome but impossible to consult a multitude of volumes. The opinions thus brought together throw some light on the history of the Church. Passages are sometimes preserved from authors whose works are now lost. On the other hand we must bear in mind that the compilers were liable to be constantly misled by the use of works absolutely and even deplorably spurious; that they thus sometimes attribute to various Fathers views which they never held;¹ that the fragments which they congregate are not only torn from their context, but often mutilated, interpolated, and misunderstood;² that conclusions are given without the reasons which alone would have rendered them interesting; and that sentences are sometimes constructed which are an injudicious mosaic of irreconcilable opinions.³ The Glossæ and Catenæ must always have their value for literature and history, and may claim such importance as belongs to the actual opinions which they preserve, but seeing that they contain nothing which had not already been said otherwise, and better, they *added* nothing to the due understanding of the "oracles of God."⁴ The first commentator of the Middle Ages who shews some independence, and marks some advance, is RUPERT OF DEUTZ († 1135). Honorius of Autun, in his book *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, says, that "illuminated by vision from the Holy Spirit, he expounded almost the whole of Scripture in an excellent style." In the preface to his Commentary on St. John, Rupert has the boldness to say that "the great

¹ See Elster, *De Med. Ævi Theolog. Exeg.*, p. 17.

² "Tumultuario studio, hinc atque hinc consarcinatis glossematis." Erasm. on 2 Cor. xi. 23; 1 Tim. ii. 15.

³ See Budæus, *Isagoge*, p. 1422. Walch, *Bibl. Theolog.*, vol. iv. pp. 192-400.

⁴ Even John of Salisbury († 1180) says in his *Metalogicus* (ii. 7): "Compilant omnium opiniones, et illa quæ etiam a viliissimis dicta vel scripta sunt ab inopia iudicii scribunt et referunt; proponunt enim omnia quia nesciunt præferre meliora. Tanta est opinionum et oppositionum congeries ut vix ipsi nota possunt esse auctori. Recte autem dicuntur oppositiones, quia melioribus studiis opponuntur, obstant enim profectui."

Augustine has, like a mighty eagle, winged his way through the deep mysteries in this Gospel. We shall press forward in the same direction, but not in his traces. While he soars over the lofty mountain-tops, we shall linger about the low roots, and seek to reach the little twigs of the Evangelic letter which are near the earth, and were left by him for humble spirits. . . . If, however, any one will say" (the objection is eminently characteristic of the age) "we have enough of what has been already discovered and written by better, holy, and learned men; it is impermissible, and even audacious, to burden readers to satiety with a multitude of commentaries by adding to those which have been written by the Catholic Fathers,—my answer is, the earthly realm of the Holy Spirit is of wide circuit, and a common blessing to all who know Christ. The right to handle Scripture can be denied to no one, provided he be in accord with the faith. Who shall grudge if, when the fathers who have gone before have dug one or two springs in that realm, the sons who follow dig more by the exertion of their own strength?"

"That strain I heard was of a higher mood!"

(v.) The claim of right to independent investigation is still but timidly whispered, but yet there are not many passages of the Schoolmen in which we find even this limited effort after originality. Neither Abelard indeed, nor Roger Bacon, nor Nicolas of Lyra, were like the man who—

"Would not with too a peremptory tone,
Assert the nose upon his face his own."

Yet, with few exceptions, even the ablest and most original of the Schoolmen scarcely venture to leave the trodden ground of what they supposed to be Patristic unanimity, without something of an alarmed apology. The days were yet far distant when Milton could say in his haughty manner, "I will not now enter into the labyrinth of

Councils and Fathers, an entangled wood which the Papist loves to fight in,"¹ or that "many Fathers discover more heresies than they will refute, and that oft for heresy which is the truer opinion;" or that he "dares to be known to think our sage and serious poet Spenser to be a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas,"² or that it is wrong "to dote upon immeasurable, innumerable, and therefore unnecessary and unmerciful volumes, choosing rather to err with the specious name of the Fathers, than to take a sound truth at the hands of a plain upright man that hath all his days been diligently reading the Holy Scriptures."³

(vi.) Nothing could be farther from my intention than to speak with disrespect, still less with scorn, of the laborious and holy men who in those ages of comparative ignorance and severe trial did their best to make known the word of God. The praise of diligence, of reverence, of ingenuity rightly belongs to them; and their limitations, their mistakes, the confined range of their knowledge, the extreme timidity of their opinions, their superstitious reverence for the Fathers, their shrinking from the independent examination of truth, their total abnegation of the right of free judgment,⁴ their preconceived determination to judge Scripture by the dogmas which they brought to it, and not to discover from Scripture what dogmas were really true,—were in each instance the *vitia temporum non hominum*. It would be idle and false to say that, except in the way of secondhand compilation, their diligence added anything fresh to the understanding of Scripture. It would be idle and false to deny that they did much to stereotype immemo-

¹ Milton, *Of True Religion, ad init.*

² Milton's *Areopagitica*.

³ Milton, *Reformation in England*.

⁴ "The sense of Scripture," says Gerson, "is to be judged as the Church, governed and inspired by the Holy Spirit, has determined, and not as each man chooses to interpret." Similar sentences might be quoted from the Schoolmen by scores.

rial prejudices, and to block up the avenues which might have led to clearer and fuller knowledge.¹ But they did what they could. They did all that was possible during the theological tyranny of an oppressive system which benumbed all independent religious thought as with the touch of a torpedo. The judgment of Alphonse de Castro, that they "sold trifles from A.D. 300 to the rise of better studies at the Reformation,"² may be too harsh; and at any rate they honestly believed their *nugæ* to be of priceless value. If we are entitled to pass an opinion, and an unfavourable opinion, on the writings of such men as Walafrid Strabo and Anselm of Laon, we can yet respect and honour those pious and learned writers, and we only judge their compilations, because we can speak with the knowledge and authority derived from ages of freedom and advancing knowledge.³

If it be asked, of what use it is to unbury methods of exegesis which have long become fossil, and to call attention to principles of interpretation which are as extinct as the mammoth, the answers are obvious.

(1) In the first place, *Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto*. Everything which bears on the history of the human mind ought to have for us an imperishable interest, and few things are more important to the history of Europe and of civilization than the views taken of Scripture, and the doctrines deduced from it during the Middle Ages. In these we have the key to no little of the religious feelings which prevailed for centuries among millions of Christians.

(2) Further than this—all enlightenment, and above all

¹ "Wrong," it has been said, "when long tolerated, puts on the airs of abstract right."

² Alphonse de Castro (Archbishop of Compostello, † 1558), *Adv. Hær.*, i. 4; quoted by Tribechovius.

³ "Antiquity deserveth that reverence that men should make a stand thereupon and discover what is the best way; but when the discovery is well taken then to make progression. . . . Antiquitas sæculi juvenus mundi." Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*.

religious enlightenment, is as gradual as the dawn. The vitality of erroneous principles is an amazing and a melancholy phenomenon. If ever the History of Exegesis shall be adequately written, it will shew that the follies and aberrations of the Rabbis were due to principles which continued to germinate in the Jewish schools of Alexandria, in the Christian schools of Alexandria, in the later Latin Fathers, and throughout the Middle Ages. The same principles—the same in essence, though springing up in slightly-marked varieties—were still potent for injury in the writings of the Reformers, of the Puritans, and of multitudes of modern Churchmen. The seven rules of Tichonius are, as a whole, not a whit more rational than the seven rules of Hillel, or the thirteen of Rabbi Ishmael; and yet they may claim to have originated many of the rules still in vogue, which are no less unfruitful. Hence in one of the most recent commentaries published in England, and not yet concluded, we are doomed to find remarks so exegetically grotesque, as that “the coats given to Adam and Eve were probably differentiated so that Eve’s was in some respects different from Adam’s to avoid any confusion of sex;” that the Israelites drank no strong drink in the desert because “the pure water of the stricken rock followed them all the way;” that the “time-defying habiliments” of the Israelites are “a type of imputed righteousness;” that the body of Moses was preserved from corruption, that it might reappear at the Transfiguration; that hence we may learn that the moral conduct of men has power to modify the laws of nature; and that in the rumination and cloven hoofs of the clean animals we may see a type of the “thoughtfulness” and “religious steadfastness” which should characterise the people of God! What can we say of such exegesis as this, except that its genesis is traceable, by direct affiliation, sometimes from the Rabbis, sometimes from the most fanciful of the Patristic allegorizers,

sometimes from the fancies of morbid mediæval ascetics, always from purely arbitrary principles ; and, in each case, not from those sources at first hand, but only through their influences reflected and refracted through the opaque media of centuries of ignorance ? There are very recent commentaries which are held in high esteem, and which yet, so far as exegetic *principles* are concerned, seem to have gained nothing from that outburst of fresh light which has enabled us to understand Scripture better during the last century than in the eighteen centuries which precede it. ' If I can shew that the very roots of scholastic exposition were more or less diseased, it may be more easy in due time to pluck up the perpetual undergrowth which keeps springing from the subterranean fibres with which those roots have filled the soil. If it be admitted that certain tendencies of the scholastic commentators led to nothing but error, the proof may have its value for the legions of commentators who are springing up to-day. We have yet to exorcise not a few of the hermeneutic errors which, under the protection of antiquity, still wander like ghosts out of the midnight of mediæval theology, and have not been startled by the cock-crow of a more enlightened day.¹ In the spirit—though not according to the letter, and still less in the bitter mood—of the old satirist, I may say :—

*"Experiar quid concedatur in illis,
Quorum Flaminia legitur cinis atque Latina.*

F. W. FARRAR.

¹ See Merz, *Eine Rede*.

THE EPISTLE TO TITUS

INTRODUCTION.

1. THE PASTORAL EPISTLES.—The narrative of St. Paul's missionary labours given by his scholar, St. Luke, closes with his two years' detention at Rome, in easy captivity. The charges on which he had been arrested were not charges which the Roman courts could sustain, for Christianity had not then become a *religio illicita*. He was accordingly pretty sure of liberation in the long run, although the "law's delay" and the slackness of his distant accusers to forward the necessary evidence occasioned a tedious confinement. When he wrote his letters to Philemon and the Philippian Church, he certainly anticipated an early release (Philem. 22; Phil. ii. 24). It is true that of his liberation we have no express record; but a tradition as old as the second century represents him as carrying out his contemplated journey to Spain (Rom. xv. 23); and such a tradition could scarcely have found currency had there been no period of active ministry later than his first imprisonment. It has, therefore, been usual to assume that upon his two years' captivity there followed about two years more of liberty, devoted to fresh labours, before the final arrest took place which led to the martyrdom of the Apostle.

Upon this assumption of a double captivity depend the dates which we assign to the composition of the Pastoral Epistles. The very close resemblance of the three Letters known by this name constitutes them a distinct group, and compels us to assign them to nearly the same period. The very marked difference betwixt them and his other writings requires us to remove them by some considerable interval from the rest. These critical conditions are not met by any theory which assigns them to the years we know so well from the Acts of the Apostles. Of such theories the

least difficult is that advocated by Reuss, Schaff, Wieseler, Pressensé, and others, which supposes that during his two years' stay at Ephesus St. Paul took Crete *en route* in a flying visit which he is supposed to have paid to Corinth. But the objections to this guess, on historical as well as critical grounds,¹ appear to me so strong, that, even had we no independent reason to assume a later period of activity followed by a second imprisonment, we should be compelled to imagine one in order to find a place for the composition of these three Pastoral Letters, and for the events to which they allude.

Of course the difficulty of placing the Letters to Timothy and Titus would be at once evaded, could we accept the view that they are forgeries of a later age. But the objections alleged against their authenticity by modern critics are far too precarious to set aside the strong external evidence on its behalf. These Letters certainly indicate that the condition of the early churches was undergoing rapid change. Heresies which a few years before existed only in germ were in advanced development. Questions of Church organization were, as a natural consequence, assuming larger importance. The administration of Church affairs, too, was passing into younger hands. But all this agrees with indications to be found in other late books of the New Testament; nor can it be shewn that the changes are in excess of what a few years might effect in young societies where everything was in a state of flux. The difference of style in the Pastoral Epistles from St. Paul's earlier and unchallenged Letters is no doubt considerable. But the style of an active many-sided thinker and worker varies too much at different periods, or when handling different topics, or when writing for different readers, for us to lay down limits of variation with any security. St. Paul's was a mobile mind. Already it had passed through

¹ See Buffet, *S. Paul et sa double Captivité à Rome*. Paris, 1860.

several phases. New aspects of divine truth had successively emerged into prominence in his writings, and with new truth came a new phraseology to match it. In style, as well as structure and subject, *Romans* differs from *Thessalonians*, and *Ephesians* from both. It need occasion no great surprise if Paul, addressing familiar letters years after to confidential workers, should express himself in other terms from those which he employed when his great theological manuals were dictated for public perusal at Colosse, Corinth, or Rome. Besides, the difference is after all only a superficial one. In all essential respects the doctrine is identical in these later with those earlier writings; and in all essential respects, too, the writer remains the same—the same warm, impulsive, subtle, eager intellect; the same affectionate, lowly, frank, outspoken heart of the man Paul whom we know so well.

How the Apostle spent his time between the two imprisonments, if two there were, must to some extent be matter for conjecture. But in his earlier Letters he had sketched extensive plans of travel (*Rom.* xv. 24; *Philem.* 22; *Phil.* ii. 24); and the Pastoral Epistles reveal the same unwearied missionary of the cross as in younger days. The brief Letter to Titus (which probably falls in date between the two to Timothy) is the only one, however, which speaks of his breaking new ground. Elsewhere we read of familiar names—Ephesus, Macedonia, Troas, Corinth (1 *Tim.* i. 3; 2 *Tim.* i. 15; iv. 13, 20). Only from the Titus Epistle do we gather that he had paid a visit during these later journeys to the island of Crete. To the interest which its rude population and neglected communities of Christians awoke in the aged Apostle's bosom, Christendom owes this very instructive book of Holy Scripture.

2. CRETE AND THE CRETAN CHURCH.—Crete is a large island in the Greek seas with a range of high hills running through its entire length from east to west, from which

fertile valleys open upon a continuous strip of flat shore round the coast line. On the north it possesses good natural harbours. In its palmy days these served as outlets for the abundant crops of wheat, wine, and oil which it then yielded to the industry of a dense population. Descended from an ancient Greek stock, its early inhabitants were employed partly as cultivators in the interior, partly as seamen on the coast. They were a somewhat rude, turbulent, and independent race, among whom the usual defects of the Greek character in its less cultured condition were very strongly marked. Of these defects, falsehood, both in the form of over-reaching and in that of treachery, has always been the foremost. To this vice there were joined, in St. Paul's time, gross forms of licentiousness and a readiness to swift insolent brawling such as has never been quite cured among the maritime Greeks of the Archipelago.

Such a population did not offer very hopeful soil for the Gospel; nor had Christianity been introduced into Crete, or propagated there, under the most favourable auspices. In its seaports, as in other business centres of the Mediterranean, numbers of Hebrews were at that period to be found. It is probable that a good share of the export trade of the island was in their hands. Some of these Jews of Crete had been among the motley and polyglot audience which listened to St. Peter's first Christian sermon at the memorable Pentecost. It is a fair presumption that, having accepted the new Gospel of the Messiah of Nazareth, some of them would carry back the tidings to the island of their adoption. But how it was propagated from one coast town to another, we do not know; nor how far it succeeded in penetrating the interior and winning converts among the farmers, shepherds, and peasants, who lay more remote from Hebrew and foreign influences. When Paul paid his hurried visit to the island in the year 66 or so,

it is certain that he found congregations already existing in most of the chief seats of population ; nor were these congregations of recent origin, since he anticipated no difficulty in selecting for office in the Church men whose families had been trained in the Christian Faith. " Ordain elders," he writes, " in *every city* ; " men " having *faithful* " (that is, believing or Christian) "*children* " (Tit. i. 5, 6).

Extensive, however, as the Cretan Church was, and of some standing, its condition left much to be desired. Previous to this year 66, it does not appear that any apostle or leading missionary had visited the island for missionary purposes. St. Paul himself, during his voyage to Rome as a prisoner under appeal, some three or four years before, had been detained through stress of weather in one of the southern harbours, which are all bad. Had Centurion Julius and his sailing master hearkened to Paul's advice on that occasion and wintered at Fair Haven, not only would their disastrous shipwreck on the Maltese coast have been escaped, but the future of Cretan Christianity might have been different. But the stay of the vessel was too brief to make it likely that Paul the prisoner could either visit the island churches or acquaint himself with their condition ; and we know of no other apostolic worker who so much as touched at the island. It can hardly have been usual for passenger ships, plying between Corinth and Asia Minor, to take it on their way, unless compelled to do so by adverse winds.

3. THE FALSE TEACHERS.—Under these circumstances, Cretan Christianity had been up to this time indigenous in its growth, or affected only by stray influences. One is led to wonder to how many portions of the Empire did the currents of business in that travelling age carry the seeds of the new Faith, without there being any authorized hand to nurture or to train the life which sprang from such sporadic dissemination. In the case of Crete, it was

inevitable that the prevailing type of Christianity, down to the date of our Epistle, should be Hebraic. Jewish traders had imported the young religion; and through these Jewish traders in its ports must have come whatever influences reached the Greek converts. More than elsewhere in Europe, therefore—more even than at Ephesus, that hotbed of fermenting ideas from East and West,—the Cretan Churches were found by St. Paul to be infested with Jewish zealots, who, under the Christian name, were teaching a fanatical and spurious Judaism.

Of these men, we can only judge from the Epistle itself. But its allusions enable us to sketch their views in tolerably complete outline. They made much of the law of Moses. Not of its moral elements, however; nor even of its religious ritual; nor of its observance as a means of attaining to righteousness. What they appear to have chiefly insisted upon was the distinction it drew between what was ceremonially “clean” and “unclean” in food, and the like external matters—portions of Mosaic legislation which many even among the Hebrews had come to regard as its least important or permanent features. On such points, they added new Rabbinical prohibitions to those of the original law. They had even introduced doctrines foreign to the whole spirit of Hebrew thought and history. For example, they discouraged marriage and extolled celibacy, as well as denied a literal resurrection of the body. It is clear, therefore, that the root idea which underlay their speculations and practical rules was the same belief in the essential evil of matter which for some years had been operating injuriously (as we see from the Letter to Colosse) upon the churches of Asia Minor, and which, after St. Paul’s decease, was destined to blossom into the vast and many-headed heresy of Gnosticism.

The legitimate offspring of all speculations of this complexion, which assign moral evil as a property to matter,

not to the spirit, is, first, a false asceticism, and, at the next remove, immoral indulgence. To this last, even, it had already come with certain of the Jewish teachers at Crete. They were worming their way into Christian families, undermining authority in the household, and seeking by all means to win proselytes to their views, for the purpose of enriching themselves; and, under a garb of self-denial, they indemnified themselves for ascetic restraint by flagitious laxity. Such are the charges brought against them by St. Paul. It was, therefore, no abstract error which had to be combated. A "gangrene" of immorality, as the natural product of fanciful speculations which were dangerous as well as false, was laying waste the Church, demoralizing the behaviour of professed believers, and endangering the very existence of a healthy Christianity in the island.

The evil was by no means peculiar to Crete, although it had there acquired unusual development. It was destined to overrun all churches. It was the same evil the foresight of which, in its finished form, darkened the last days of Paul and which is dealt with by the pens of St. Peter and St. Jude. All the more interesting does it become to note how the great missionary dealt with it in the present case. No sooner was he on the spot than he felt the need for a prompt and drastic remedy. The mischief had gained too firm a footing to be readily expelled. It found support in the low morals of the Cretan population. Before it could be counteracted it would therefore require courage, plain speaking, a vigorous enforcement of discipline, and, above all, a faithful exhibition of Gospel truth *in its essential connection with sound morality*. But in the way of applying remedies such as these there stood one patent hindrance. The scattered congregations of disciples were as yet unorganized. No stated office-bearers had been appointed. The pastoral or presbyterial office, long ago

introduced into the better known churches of the mainland, had never yet, it seems, been set up in unvisited Crete. To this point accordingly St. Paul directed, in the first instance, his personal endeavours. Evidently, he attached to the stated ministry of oversight in the Church a great value as a safeguard against false teaching and lax manners in the Christian community. But being compelled (through what urgent occasion we do not know) to leave the island before he had overtaken this task, at least through its whole extent, he left behind him, to complete the work, one of the most tried and judicious of all his assistants.

4. TITUS.—Titus was by this time no novice in the management of difficult affairs. Eight or nine years had elapsed since St. Paul entrusted him with a mission to the most unmanageable of churches—that in Achaia—at a moment when that church was in its most distracted condition. This delicate mission, over the issue of which St. Paul fretted so sorely at Troas, appears to have been admirably discharged; for, in the Letter with which he sent back his commissioner again, Paul speaks of Titus with the warmest appreciation (2 Cor. viii. 16, 23; xii. 18). Ever since then, it can hardly be doubtful that Titus must have been acquiring similar experience. None of the band of missionaries who took their inspiration and their guidance from the great Apostle stood higher than he for energy, tact, and ability. Hence, although he could be ill spared, Paul left him behind for a time to finish the task he had begun, of organizing the Cretan congregations. At parting he had given him verbal instructions. Not content with this, he sent back to him, for his fuller guidance, the manual of directions preserved to us in this inspired Epistle; bidding him remain at his post on the island until he should be relieved by the arrival of another of the Apostle's assistants; one probably who could be better

spared; whether Artemas or Tychicus it was not yet certain. So soon as his successor arrived, Titus was to hasten to rejoin his chief before the approach of winter should render voyaging in the *Ægean* precarious or impossible.

Such a rapid sketch as has now been attempted of the circumstances under which it was penned, appeared to be quite indispensable to any intelligent study of this Epistle. To an examination of the sacred text itself I shall proceed in my next paper.

J. OSWALD DYKES.

SCRIPTURE STUDIES OF THE HEAVENLY STATE.

II. WITH WHAT BODY DO THEY COME?

THE fact that such a question as that we have prefixed to this article should have first been asked by the Church of Corinth has always seemed to us one of the most striking circumstances in the history of Christian belief. It shews that the reception of Christianity by the first converts was not the result of credulity. Here is a Christian Apostle putting into the mouth of his readers a rationalistic objection to one of the greatest mysteries of Divine truth, and proceeding to meet that objection with its own weapons. One would have thought that in a subject so mysterious, human reason would have received a very different treatment at his hands. We should have expected him to say on this, as on another occasion: "Nay, but O man, who art thou that repliest against God?" Instead of that, he finds fault with them for not having used their reason to better purpose. He tells his imaginary antagonists, not that the theme they have chosen for attack is one which is above argument, but that the argument lies on *his* side

of the question. He tells them, not that they are guilty of impiety in asking such a question, but that in so doing they are convicted of intellectual folly. They have failed to see that the doctrine of a resurrection is not only in harmony with the laws of the Universe, but is itself *based upon* a law of the Universe. The question, "With what body do they come?" is not a question to be answered by an appeal to simple faith, but one which may be solved by an interrogation of human nature. He who objects to Christianity because it teaches the doctrine of a resurrection is bound, on the same ground, to object to the facts of the visible creation; for the facts of the visible creation reveal all the wonders of the resurrection by exhibiting the old materials in constantly varied forms.

With a standpoint such as this, it will not surprise us to find that St. Paul's view of this subject is marked by great freedom of thought, or what must have appeared so to the adherents of Judaism. There is one thing which we must observe at the outset, because it sets forth at once the boldness of his position, and it is this: he will not admit that the doctrine of the resurrection requires a restoration of the same bodily structure which was put into the grave. According to him, that doctrine simply says of the soul, "God giveth it a body." It affirms that each human soul will have its *own* body; that is to say, the body which is needed to give it its own personality. But this does not necessitate an exact reconstruction of former elements. St. Paul's whole argument in this Chapter (1 Cor. xv.) is intended to prove the thesis that identity may exist with complete variety. To prove that thesis he passes under review the various fields of nature. He begins with the vegetable kingdom. He points to the seed when it is first planted in the soil, and shews that it has then a body of its own. He points to it again when it has reached its full growth, and shews that it has still its own body, but not the

same body. Indeed, what St. Paul means to say is this: If the embodiment of the germ in its full development were the same as that which clothed its incipient life, it would no longer have its own body; for it would no longer have the body suited to the change of its nature. The seed is sown in weakness, that is to say, in a frame suited to its own weakness; but when the seed itself becomes strong, it will need a frame suited to its own strength—a body “raised in power.”

Passing to the life of physical nature, St. Paul pursues his proof that identity is consistent with variety. What a number of forms, he says, may matter pass through without ceasing to be matter. There is one glory of the sun, there is another glory of the moon, there is a third glory of the stars; nay, star itself differs from star in glory. Yet through all these different forms, as well as through the still greater differences that separate the stars from the bodily structures of man and beast, matter remains the same; it is an identical substance which pervades these many forms. And what St. Paul means to suggest is, Why should it not be so with mind also? If matter does not cease to be matter in all its varied embodiments, why should mind cease to be mind, however changed may be its environment; will not its embodiment, whatever it be, be one that shall give true expression to its essential nature?

Lastly, St. Paul turns to the mind itself. He shews that even in this life man may be said to pass through two worlds—a world of nature, and a world of spirit: “That is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural.” There is an outer and an inner man; or, as St. Paul would say, there is an outer and an inner embodiment of the man; there is a natural body and there is a spiritual body. The glory of the natural is one, and the glory of the spiritual is another; but through both glories the man keeps his identity. The infant is the sage in embryo; the sage is the infant in development. The outward world of the one,

including even the bodily structure, is entirely different from the outward world of the other; but into this difference the identity of the life has passed unscathed, and in the new house not made with hands the soul holds on to its continuity with the past.

Now the analogy in St. Paul's mind is this. Just as the child in his passage to the man is gradually clothed upon by a new covering more suited to the advance in his development, may not a still higher spiritual body be found to clothe our lives in their passage from the human to the divine? What St. Paul means by a spiritual body is a body in harmony with the spirit. In the present world he fails to find this. He sees body and soul dwelling side by side, and yet living in disunion; the flesh lusting against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh; the law of the members warring against the law of the mind. And that is the reason why he cannot accept the doctrine of a resurrection in which the present structure of the present body shall be reproduced. He feels that such a reproduction would be simply a perpetuation of the old strife. It would be a resurrection, but not a regeneration. It would not break down the ancient wall of partition between the seen and temporal, and the unseen and eternal. To break that wall there is wanted not only a resurrection, but a regeneration of the physical nature: "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither can corruption inherit incorruption." Something must intervene to change our body of humiliation into the fashion of that glorious body which was ever in unison with the spirit of the Son of Man. The house that we wait for is not a house from the grave, but a house from heaven; not a tabernacle of nature, but a building of God.

What, then, is this resurrection body to which St. Paul looks forward? If it be a different structure from our present body, when and how does it appear? Now, when

we consult St. Paul's writings, we meet with statements concerning the resurrection body which at first view seem to be at variance. At times it is spoken of as something that is to be given to the soul only at the end of all things :—"the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible;" "from whence also we look for the Lord from heaven, who shall change our body of humiliation." At other times it is spoken of as something that is to be given in the hour of death :—"We know that if the house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." And, yet again, it is spoken of as a thing which the saint already possesses :—"God *hath* quickened us together with Christ;" "If ye *be* risen with Christ, seek those things that are above." Is there any way in which these statements can be reconciled? Any theory of the future life must of necessity be more or less imaginative; but in this case there is an advantage in *having* a theory. If imagination can discover any scheme that will fit the statements of Scripture all round, it must furnish a strong presumption that the seeming contrariety of these statements lies only in our want of the missing link. We ask, then, is there any theory or hypothesis which, if accepted, would bring into harmony the teachings of the Bible on the subject of a resurrection? We think there is, and we shall try as briefly as possible to set it forth.

The point to be explained is this: Why is the resurrection sometimes represented as a fact to come, and sometimes as a fact that is past already? now as an event for the hour of death, and now as an occurrence that is to mark only the completion of all things? And the explanation we take to be that, in the view of St. Paul, the resurrection is a *process*. It is not something which is begun, continued, and ended, in a moment of time; it is an event which is spread over the entire history of the

human soul. The new body, as St. Paul understands it, is a gift, which comes from God at the moment of regeneration, which at first exists only in weakness and in frailty, which has to grow from infancy to maturity just like the natural body, which reaches a certain stage of emancipation in the hour of death, but will only attain its perfect stature in that region of the unknown future which is described as the manifestation of humanity before the judgment seat of Christ. Such we believe to be the view that will fit all the facts of the case, the only view that will harmonize with every statement of Scripture, and the view that will best reconcile such statements with the conclusions of the natural reason. Let us examine it a little more in detail.

The conception of a regeneration, or second birth, runs through the New Testament from beginning to end. That a man, at some stage of his present being, must be born again, if he would be fitted for another and a higher being, is the doctrine alike of the Christian Founder and his apostles. We shall err very greatly if we imagine that either Christ or his followers intended the phrase to be a figure of speech expressive of a change of life. Regeneration, in the view of the first Christians, is no metaphor; it is a sober, a solemn, a most prosaic reality. So far from regarding regeneration as a metaphor derived from physical birth, these men would have certainly said that physical birth was but the metaphor or shadow of regeneration. Nay, in the view of the early Church, regeneration was *itself* a physical birth.¹ It was not merely a revival of the human spirit; it was a reconstruction of human nature—spirit and body alike. It was nothing less than the creation of a new substance in man. To be in Christ was to be, in the most literal of all senses, a new creature; it was to have the germ of a new body and the breath of

¹ St. Paul holds that through Christ all men are *physically* regenerated. 1 Cor. xv. 22; 1 Tim. iv. 10; cf. John i. 9.

a new soul. The Divine Spirit, by its union with the old nature of man, was to become the parent of a third life partaking in some sense of the character of both. It was to have in it the elements alike of the human and the Divine; the one derived from the motherhood of nature, the other from the parentage of the Father of spirits. It was therefore bound to have a life of struggle. That which was supernatural in it had to strive with that which was natural; the higher had to conquer the lower origin. Regeneration, in the Christian sense of that term, is a change coextensive with the whole range of human nature—body, soul, and spirit. It is a revolution not in any opinion or sentiment held by man, but in the constitution of man himself. It makes war upon the entire fabric of the first creation, and proposes to itself a task no less momentous than the formation of a new and a different kind of union between the body and the soul.

According to St. Paul, man was at first created in a state of physical imperfection:—"The first Adam was made a living soul," or, as it may be better rendered in English, "a living animal." The statement is theologically a bold one. It implies that the element of death existed originally in human nature. St. Paul says it existed originally in *universal* nature. "The creation was made subject to vanity," to corruption, to change, to death, "not willingly," not by any fault of its own; "but by reason of him who hath subjected the same," that is, by man: "in hope that the creation also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God." In this striking passage St. Paul blends into one two theories which in modern times have been considered contradictory—the view that death is the punishment of sin, and the view that death is a part of the system of nature. On the one hand, he declares as strongly as any man of modern science that death did not begin with

the Fall, but was bound up in the original order of nature : —“the creation was made subject to vanity.” On the other hand, he affirms that this subjection of nature to death is no fault of its own, but results from the fact that it is made to suit the wants of a future being who is to incur death by his sin :—“not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same.” The creation, according to St. Paul, is placed from the beginning in a state of *designed* imperfection, because the being who is to form its climax is to be one who is to *choose* imperfection ; it is made subject to death because it is made for man. Accordingly, when man himself is created, he is created with the nature of death in him. He is fashioned not with a view to what he might have been, but in accommodation to what he actually was to be. Therefore he receives from nature a perishable constitution, a body liable to death, a being allied more to earth than to heaven ; he exists in anticipation of his fall ; he is made only “a living soul.”

Can we see any deeper into the mind of St. Paul on this matter? Is it possible to get a yet clearer view of what he meant when he said that the first Adam was made a “living soul,” or *animal*? It seems to us that we can. The reference of the Apostle is clearly to the narrative in Genesis ii. 7, where it is said, “The Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life ; and man became a living soul.” Is there anything in this account that could have suggested to St. Paul the idea that man’s physical nature was not originally perfect? Is there anything which could have led him to the belief that the human frame from the beginning had in it the seeds of decay? If we look closely, we shall see that there is. Let us observe, for one thing, that in the view of Genesis, matter has the start of mind. The body of man is made before the spirit ; nay, there is more than that. It is distinctly implied that in the

first creation the physical or bodily element constituted the larger part: "The Lord God formed *man* of the dust of the ground." It reads as if, in his first state, *man's* essence—that which made him man—was his physical being. He is introduced to our notice as merely the highest product of that dust out of which had been fashioned all the previous orders of creation. True, there is immediately afterward something added to him; a new and a higher life is breathed down upon him from above, and it is nothing less than the breath of God's own life. All the same, this new life is something added to man. It is not a part of his original nature, nor is it in any essential sense joined to that nature. It is breathed only "into his *nostrils*." The idea is that of superficiality. It is meant to be conveyed that, with all the grandeur which pertains to the nature of man, he has not received the Divine breath or spirit into the innermost part of his being. This, at least, is the sense in which it was understood by the Jewish writers of a later age. "Trust not in man, whose breath is in his nostrils," is an utterance of the Psalmist which has become proverbial, and it furnishes a striking commentary on the account of man's first creation. It tells us that the original constitution of man was not a perfect constitution; that there was in him more of dust than of Deity, and that the portion of him that came from Deity had only penetrated into the crust of his being. It tells us that the reason why human nature is unworthy of trust is not merely that it has fallen, but that, even were it unfallen, it is naturally frail. The Divine breath or spirit which is in it simply hovers over its surface, and enters not into its life. It is but the highest of the living forms of nature, touching indeed the very rim of the Divine life, but, in itself, unable to incorporate that life, and therefore still liable to that vanity of the whole creation—death.

It will be seen, then, that according to this interpretation of Genesis, which is really the Pauline interpretation, any regeneration of the human soul must at the same time be a regeneration of the human body. It is not merely from sin that man wants deliverance; it is from the incompleteness of his original nature. He wants a perfect union of body and soul, a union in which the dust shall not get the start of the spirit of life, and in which the spirit of life shall not be breathed only over the surface of man's constitution; but where the spirit shall itself be the germ out of which the body shall be fashioned, and by which the man shall be constituted.

Now such is the gift which St. Paul promises to humanity as the result of the second birth. He says there has come into the world a new type of the human race; he calls him the Second Adam. The two types are differently constituted. The First Adam was made "a living animal"; the Second is made a "quickening spirit." The First Adam was simply a life which, in one solitary direction, blossomed into a spirit. The Second Adam was from the outset a spirit which, by its power of infinite diffusiveness, has created for itself a body of natural life. The Second Adam, because He *is* a spirit, has fashioned to Himself a spiritual body—a body which can second the efforts and execute the will of his rational and moral nature. It is this body, and this spirit of the Second Adam which St. Paul promises to his followers: "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creation." The newness consists in the birth of an entire nature—a new body and a new spirit. The believer at the hour of his regeneration receives the identical Spirit which dwelt in the Son of Man; and along with his Spirit, he receives that which is indissolubly joined to it—a spiritual body. He is not said, indeed, to have the identical *body* of the Son of Man, but one "*like unto* his glorious body." The new body is that which makes the

"new creation"; it is something which is added to the sum of original being. But the point for us is that, in the view of St. Paul, this new body comes not at death, but at regeneration. The proof is, that in the writings of Paul the time of a man's regeneration is often spoken of as the time of his resurrection: "If by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead;" "Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light." Is it not to the same fact that our Lord Himself refers in the Fourth Gospel, where it is said: "The hour is coming and now is when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of Man, and they that hear shall live." So, too, when St. Paul says of the seed, "It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption," what do we understand him to mean? He is not surely speaking of burial in the grave, though perhaps he may have had that *metaphor* in his mind. More likely is it from every point of view that the sowing of which he spoke was the insertion of the Divine Spirit into the corruptible human nature. The hour of sowing was to Paul the hour of regeneration. It was the putting of incorruption into the heart of corruption. That which was sown was a new nature—the seed of a higher spirit and the germ of a purer body. The believer was already "risen with Christ." He had even now been quickened, raised up, made to sit with Him "in heavenly places"; for he had even now been born again, not metaphorically, but truly; not only into the inheritance of a new life, but into the possession of a new form—the *image* of the Heavenly.

Why, then, will St. Paul not allow it to be said that the resurrection is past already? It is because, in his view, the resurrection is a process, and therefore slow of completion. He would not have objected to its being said that the resurrection was *begun* already; but he regarded the hour of regeneration as *only* its beginning. The new body, like the

new spirit, was as yet but in germ, and both had to fight their way against the original elements of human nature. The first and the second Adam now existed in the same soul, and such a co-existence meant war. To bring peace, there was needed another stage in the process of resurrection; the new nature had to be emancipated from the old in that act which is called death. The seed has been sown in dishonour; it must be raised in glory. "That which thou sowest is not quickened except it die." To depart is far better than to remain, because it is to be with Christ. What do such passages mean if, in the view of the Apostle, death is not a second stage of the second birth? Nay, there is one very remarkable passage in which St. Paul seems virtually to say that, even if death were abolished in this world, it would be necessary to find a substitute for it: "Behold, I shew you a mystery; we shall not all sleep, *but we shall all be changed.*" Let us try to grasp the thought of the Apostle. Some members of the Church of Corinth had denied the resurrection of the dead. They had been influenced in this denial by the hope that they themselves would never need to die; that they would live until the coming of the Messiah should put an end to death. St. Paul's answer really amounts to this: Even if it were so, even if you should live till the day when death shall be no more, you will still need a resurrection. If you do not die, you must be changed. Think you that you can enter into the celestial life without a resurrection body! Think you that your present physical nature is fit for the home of pure spirits? Will you not learn that "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God?" Will you not learn that, if death be a penal power to the sinner, it is a remedial power to the saint? There is within your nature a want of harmony between body and soul; "these two are contrary." Something is wanted that shall remove the discord, and unite the outer to the inner man. That power has

been found in death. Death has served the cause of immortality; it has changed the corruptible into the incorruptible. If there were no death, there would still need to be the *work* of death. Come as it may, the change *must* take place. If this mortal would put on immortality, this corruptible must put on incorruption; and this can only be done by a process in which your whole being shall be transformed. In vain, therefore, do you look for the coming of the Messiah as a hope of perpetuating the present system of things. In the presence of the Messiah the existing order of things would vanish "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye." "Those who remain until the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent," shall not get any advantage over, "those that sleep." To them, too, there must come a change; a change, equal to death in its power, and identical in its effect, whereby the old nature shall be translated into the new, and the body of sin and corruption shall be transfigured into that spiritual house which is not made with hands.

Death, then, or rather the change which accompanies death, is the second stage of resurrection. But it is not yet the final stage. We must here refer to that point to which we directed attention in our previous paper. We there saw that in the writings of St. Paul there are distinguishable two views regarding the state of the dead. We found them sometimes spoken of as in a state of rest, and sometimes as in a condition of increased mental activity. We came to the conclusion that, in the view of St. Paul, the state of the dead was itself progressive. We found that he recognized two degrees of glory in the life of the saint beyond the grave. There was, first, a stage of rest; and there was, afterwards, a time of action. The souls of the departed were at first *hid* with Christ. They were not in a state of unconsciousness, but theirs was the consciousness of contemplation, not yet of action. They

had passed into a life of glory, but theirs was the glory of vision, not yet of service. The soul's first experience after death was an experience in solitude. It was an experience in the garden, as distinguished from a life in the *city* of God. Each spirit was for the time separated from all other spirits. It was alone, absorbed in communion with the Source of its being, and perhaps more occupied with the retrospect than with the prospect of things. By and by there was to come a change. The solitude was to pass away. The hiding was to cease. The soul was to come out from a distinctively mental, into a distinctively bodily life, a life in which the physical universe would at last be harmonized with the universe of spirit, and where the principles of love and purity would embody themselves in a reign of "righteousness and judgment."

This, then, is St. Paul's final stage of resurrection. The new body is only *liberated* by death; it is not yet glorified. The chain is broken, and the obstacle to growth removed; but the growth itself is still to be perfected. The physical nature has been redeemed from slavery, but it is not yet ripe for the prerogatives of freedom. It wants time to mature; and that time is its state of intermediate glory. By and by it will be ready to take its place as one of the ruling powers in that great manifestation of an universal Theocracy which men have called the "Day of Judgment." The consideration of this important subject must be reserved for a future article.

GEORGE MATHESON.

THE CHRONICLE OF BALAAM.

§ 3. *The Oracles.* (Numbers xxii. 36—xxiv. 25.)

FRESH from his encounter with the angel of the Lord, and with the echoes of the Divine rebuke of his duplicity still making "a fearful music" in his soul, Balaam arrives at Ir, a city on the extreme north-eastern boundary of Moab; and here he meets a new antagonist. Messengers had no doubt been sent on, after the Eastern fashion, to announce his approach to the King; for we find that Balak had left his capital (Rabbah) and come forth to this border city to receive him. A twofold motive may have prompted the King. He may have intended, and probably did intend, to give the Prophet a signal mark of his favour; and, according to Oriental notions, he could have shewn him no greater honour than by coming so far to meet him. But, though on courtesy bent, he may also have shewn a frugal mind; and probably in coming so far to meet the Prophet his strongest motive was to save time. For the mountains from which he proposed that Balaam should overlook and curse the camp of Israel lay in the immediate vicinity of Ir-Moab; and it is easy to see that Balak was impatient to have the curse pronounced, thought that too much time had been wasted already, and was in no mood to brook another instant of unnecessary delay.

Kings do not easily bow before an authority higher than their own; and even when they are obliged to court the aid of an eloquence, a statesmanship, or a genius for war, which they do not themselves possess, they are apt to suspect and dislike the very instruments they are compelled to use. There is a touch of this royal insolence in the demand with which king Balak greets the Prophet he has sent so far to fetch: "Did I not urgently send unto thee to call thee? Wherefore didst thou not come unto me? Am I not able, forsooth, to promote thee unto honour?" But a man who

has stood face to face with God is not likely to fear the frown of a king; and hence Balaam replies with quiet dignity: "Behold, I *have* come unto thee! (But) have I any power at all (now that I have come) to say anything? The word that Jehovah shall put into my mouth, that (only) will I speak." His dignified reply had its effect; for the next thing we hear of these two men is that they rode peacefully together to a city called *Kirjath-huzzoth*,¹ an ancient *Strass-burg*, or "city of streets," as its name implies, or perhaps the word rather means "a fort with streets" round it. It was probably, therefore, a border-fortress on the way to the ranges of Attarus and Abarim, from divers peaks of which they were to look down on the Hebrew encampment. Here Balak holds a feast in honour of Balaam's arrival, sending the best portions of the oxen and sheep he slew to Balaam's table, as an Arab sheikh would do to this day on receiving a guest whom he delighted to honour.

On the morrow, early in the morning, Balak rode with Balaam to a neighbouring summit consecrated to the service of his god, and thence called Bamoth-Baal, or "high place of Baal," on which therefore there was probably a grove of sacred trees, and from which they could look down and see the host of Israel encamped upon the plain beneath. And no doubt the site was chosen partly because it was a sacred place, very meet therefore for a religious imprecation, just as the anathemas of the Pope are supposed to gain special force because they issue from St. Peter's chair, and partly because it was an article of ancient superstition that the seer must have those whom he was to curse under his eye if his curse were to take effect.

This latter superstition Balaam may have shared, but

¹ Knobel conjectures, with some probability, that *Kirjath* may have been an older form of *Kerioth*. The sole interest of the conjecture lies in the fact that Judas Iscariot, i.e. Judas of *Kerioth*, came from a place which bore the same name, though in a different locality; and thus supplies a sort of link between the Prophet who turned traitor to Jehovah and the Apostle who betrayed Jesus.

from the former he hastens to detach himself. He is the servant of Jehovah, not of Baal, and he will not stoop or affect to serve any but the only true God. When, therefore, they reach the "high place" he separates himself decisively from the idolatry of which it was the haunt. He will not use the altars of Baal, nor join in any of the Moabish rites. In a tone of authority he bids Balak "*build me seven altars, and prepare for me seven bullocks and seven rams.*" And these altars were dedicated, these sacrifices were presented, as we learn from a subsequent Verse (Chap. xxiii. 4), not to Baal, but to Jehovah.

Among the ancients sacrifices preceded every enterprise of pith and moment, especially of course any ceremony of adjuration; and these sacrifices grew more costly in proportion as the ceremony or enterprise was deemed critical and important. Since bullocks and rams were the chief victims of the Patriarchal and Mosaic altars, and seven was the number of perfection and completion, we may fairly infer from the seven bullocks and seven rams which Balaam proceeded to offer on the seven altars, that both the Prophet and the King attached the gravest importance to the enterprise in which they were now engaged.

An ancient augur, moreover, habitually chose some lofty spot, with a wide and open outlook, in which to watch for omens and indications of the Divine will; and hence we can understand why, after having offered his holocausts in the sacred grove, Balaam went forth from its shade to "*a bare place,*" a scaur, leaving the King to stand by the altars. He wanted to be alone and undisturbed that he might be the more sensitive to any spiritual impact, any touch of spiritual light or force, whether from within or from without. And he also wanted (Chap. xxiv. 1) to secure a wide view of earth and sky in which to detect some portent that his art would enable him to interpret. For in this, or in some similar form, he expected the Lord to "*meet*" him, to

direct and illuminate his mind, and to give him some inkling of things that were to be. And in this, or in some similar way, God did meet him and put a word into his mouth; that is to say, the conviction was borne in upon him that he knew what the Lord would have him say, what he *must* say therefore, however unwelcome it might be, however fatal to his interests and desires. He returns to the sacred grove, therefore, and faithfully delivers the burden of the Lord.

The oracles of Balaam are full of interest to the historian, the antiquarian, and the literary artist, as well as to the student of theology; and did the occasion require, it would not be difficult for one who has studied these oracles patiently and minutely to throw some light on certain curious psychological and literary problems. But the occasion does not require it. Our main endeavour is to decipher the character of Balaam, to reach such a conception of it as shall bring him within the recognized limits of our common humanity. And hence we need not enter into the difficult literary and philosophical problems which his oracles suggest, but may be content simply to seize such indications of character as they afford.

One of these characteristics pervades the whole series. The honesty, the veracity, of Balaam is conspicuous throughout. Whatever base cupidity or selfish ambition he may have cherished on the journey from Mesopotamia to Moab, no trace of it is to be found in the predictions he utters. And it would have been so easy for him to be dishonest, to utter words of double meaning, words which, while formally a curse on Israel, were really a benediction, and thus to seem to comply with Balak's wish, while nevertheless he ran counter to it. Many of the ancient oracles took this dubious form, offering a word of promise to the ear, while they broke it to the hope. The oracles of Dodona and Delphi, for instance, habitually paltered with

words in a double sense ; as when they informed Croesus that, if he attacked the Persians, he would "destroy a mighty empire," but quite omitted to inform him that that empire would be his own.¹ And our own Shakespeare supplies us with a similar illustration of "the equivocation of the fiend that lies like truth" in the oracle which deceived Macbeth : "Fear not, till Birnam wood do come to Dunsinane." The temptation to Balaam thus to equivocate with Balak, and to make truth itself a liar, must have been immense. For he loved reward ; and, after buoying up the King with false hopes, he might easily—had he have been the villain which some assume him to be—have gone off with the silver and gold before the event betrayed him. But he does not listen to, we cannot even detect a single symptom that he so much as felt, the temptation. From first to last he is true to his vocation, and speaks out simply and gravely the thoughts which God had put into his heart.

And who can doubt that it was the intervention of the Angel and the Ass which made and kept him sincere ? His "madness" had been effectually rebuked, so effectually that while he remains with Balak we see no trace of its return. Was not that, then, a most merciful rebuke, however humiliating and severe it may have seemed, which exorcised the evil spirit that he had been cherishing, and made a true man and a true prophet of him, at least for a time ? If *this* was the end of the miracle, was it not a worthy and sufficient end ?

Balaam's First Oracle, which, like many of the ancient heathen oracles, took a poetic form, runs thus (Chap. xxiii. 7-10) :—

From Aram hath Balak brought me,
The King of Moab from the mountains of the East,

¹ *Herodotus*, Book I., chap. 53. It would be easy to give many similar instances from the pages of Herodotus alone.

(Saying) Come, curse me Jacob,
And, come, ban Israel !
How shall I curse whom God hath not cursed,
Or how shall I ban whom the Lord hath not banned ?
For from the summit of the rocks I see them,
And I behold them from the hills ;
Lo, it is a people that dwelleth apart,
And is not reckoned among the nations.
Who can count the dust of Jacob,
Or number the fourth part of Israel ?¹
Let me die the death of the righteous,
And be my last estate like his !

With the exception of the tremulous sigh with which it concludes, the oracle seems little more than a simple statement of the events by which the Prophet had been led to his present position, and an equally simple description of the scene beneath his eyes. But, as we look into it, we discover traces of character in it which help us to understand the man, and to understand him in the loftier and nobler aspects of his nature. There is not only an assertion of his unalterable fidelity to the God whom he serves, of the utter impossibility of his cursing any whom God has not cursed ; but, obviously, he is even more profoundly impressed by the *holiness* of the people on whom he looks down from the summit of the rocks than by their vast numbers or their power. He cannot but see that they are like the dust of the earth for multitude ; but what strikes him most is that which any but a genuine lover of righteousness might altogether have failed to perceive. It is that they are a people called to "dwell apart," and not to be reckoned among the nations around them. The isolation of the camp as he looked down upon it from the heights, its sharply defined limits as it lay in the great plain of the Jordan, its orderliness, and a something peculiar and unique in its aspect, may have suggested this thought to him ; but, whatever suggested it, there can be no doubt

¹ An allusion to the four camps into which the Hebrew host was divided.

that it arrested and impressed him. For by this separateness he does not mean simply that, under the protection of Jehovah, they are to dwell in safety, unvexed by the strifes and tumults of other races; but, mainly, that they are a people of other and better laws, pursuing a different and nobler ideal than other races. Separation is here, as throughout the Old Testament, the symbol of sanctity, the outward and visible sign of an inward and invisible grace, the grace which impels men to the pursuit of a pure and unworldly life, and makes righteousness, rather than culture or power or wealth, their chief end and highest good.

Summoned to curse this peculiar people, he can conceive no higher wish than that he may share their aim and fate. And there is a special force and pathos in the form into which he casts this wish. He projects himself into the future, and asks himself how he shall crave to have lived when he comes to die. Under the shadow of death, when the garish lights, by which during their brief day on earth men are too often misled and betrayed, are withdrawn, they discriminate the true aims of life more clearly and are most profoundly sensible of their worth. Hence Balaam draws the solemnity of death into his thoughts, and, in that revealing darkness, finds that his supreme desire is that he may be able to look back on a well spent, a pure and kindly life, a life ennobled and insured by the protection and love of God. His ideal of righteousness was, as we learn from Micah, to do justice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God; and he feels that, unless his ideal be attained, he cannot die at peace.

This is the noblest posture of the soul in which we have yet seen this strange Prophet; but in the Second Oracle he touches a still higher point, and takes a more penetrating tone.

Angered and disheartened by the result of his first ex-

periment, Balak nevertheless determined to risk another. With what seems to us a childish simplicity, but long seemed to our fathers the dictate of practical sagacity and piety, he was content to seek for omen after omen till he got one to his mind, and then, forgetting all the portents which foreboded disaster, to commit himself to that which flattered his hopes. Hence he shifts his ground, and conducts Balaam to a still more sacred and conspicuous spot, the Field of the Watchers or of the Seers as it was called, on the top of Pisgah, a peak of the mountain chain of Abarim, a little north of the Attarus range which they had just left. From this point, though it was nearer to the camp of the Israelites, an intervening spur may have shut out from view the greater part of the camp; for—and here we have another illustration of the simplicity of antique superstitions—Balak seems to have thought that the Prophet may have been daunted by the vast numbers of the host on which he looked down from the summit of Bamoth-Baal, and would find it easier to curse them if he did “not see them all” (Chap. xxiii. 13).

On Pisgah, then, and in a field set apart for divination, as on Bamoth-Baal, altars were built, sacrifices offered; and once more the Prophet left the King, to seek for auguries. As he gazed down on the plain beneath him, his eye would pass, beyond the Hebrew host, to the river Jordan, on the broad margin of which they were encamped. And here, possibly, while he heard the sound of the trumpet which called them to worship, and the shout with which they greeted it floated up to his ear, he may have seen buffaloes and lions going up from the swellings of Jordan, and have found in *these* the omens of which he was in quest, as he certainly found the dominant figures of his Second Oracle; which runs thus (Chap. xxiii. 18–24):

Arise, Balak, and hear;
Hearken unto me, thou son of Zippor!

God is not a man that He should lie,
Nor a son of man that He should repent.
Hath He said, and shall He not do it,
Or hath He spoken, and shall He not make it good?
Behold, I have been charged to bless;
And if He blesseth, I cannot reverse it.
No iniquity is to be descried in Jacob,
No distress to be seen in Israel:
The Lord their God is with them,
And the trumpet-shout of their King among them.
God brought them forth from Egypt;
They have the bison's strength.
For there is no augury in Jacob,
Nor any divination in Israel;
But in due time it is told to Jacob,
And to Israel, what God doeth.
Behold, they are a people that rise up like a lioness,
And lift themselves up as a lion;
They lie not down till they eat their prey
And drink the blood of the slain.

No wonder that Balak was angry as he listened to this lofty strain, and in his anger cried out on the Prophet, "Thou shalt never curse them again, nor bless them again;" for here was the knell of all his hopes. He is summoned at the outset to rise and brace himself for tidings that will go near to unman him; and, as Balaam's song goes on, his worst prognostics are verified and surpassed. He learns that he is bent on "a hopeless contest against overwhelming numbers," a contest with a race strong as the bison, fierce and unrelenting as the lion when he seeks for prey, and which all the power of Egypt had not been able to withstand. He learns that the God who brought them forth from Egypt is still with them and for them, their Guide, Ruler, and Saviour, and that He is neither to be tricked nor cajoled into enmity against them.

But it is with Balaam that we are concerned, not with Balak; and this Second Oracle shews him to us at his best, in his most piercing insight, in his noblest poise. He repeats in firmer accents (Verse 19) his belief in the unchange-

able fidelity of God. He depicts in a more memorable and impressive phrase the righteousness and consequent blessedness of Israel. Nothing, indeed, could well be happier or more significant than the sentence, *No iniquity is to be descried in Jacob*, and therefore *no distress is to be seen in Israel*, with its fine implication that the sins of men are the sole cause of their miseries, and that their miseries are intended to correct their sins.

But fine as is the spirit of such sentences as these, the noble frankness and veracity of the man when he was at his best come out still more strikingly in the two passages which bear, directly or indirectly, on his vocation as a soothsayer and a prophet. For the Soothsayer affected to shape and change the Divine will as well as to predict it, to vary the currents in which it ran, and even to direct it against this man or that at his pleasure. But even in the presence of the King and the princes who deemed so highly of his power, and valued him above all for this very gift, Balaam plainly disavows the power they ascribed to him. He frankly confesses, "Behold, I have been charged to bless, and if He blesseth, *I cannot reverse it.*" Nay, more, even in respect of that skill of his craft, or gift of his vocation, which he still claims to possess, the power to divine the future, he humbly acknowledges that this is but a poor gift at the best, very far from being so precious as it was accounted, and not to be compared with the grace vouchsafed to every child of Israel, however lowly his position, however limited his range. The Hebrews are so strong, he says, God loves them and dwells with them, *because there is no augury in Jacob, nor any divination in Israel; but in due time it is told them what God doeth.*¹ That must have been a wonderful glimpse into the ways of God with men which led a diviner to deny his own art, and to confess that to wait with childlike confidence on God till in due time He reveals

¹ Comp. Deuteronomy xviii. 9-22.

his will is a far greater and more precious gift than to force or surprise the secrets of the future and to pass in spirit through the times to be. God "met" Balaam to purpose when He taught him a truth which men, and even Christian men, have not yet learned,—that a little trust is better than much foresight, and that to walk with God in patient and loving dependence is better than to know the things to come.

And this insight into the real value of his special gift was part of that training, that discipline, by which, as we have seen, God was seeking to save his servant from his besetting sin. For Balaam was proud of the gift which set him apart from and above his fellows, of the eagle eye and unyielding spirit which made the supernatural as easy and familiar to him as the natural, while *they* were trembling before every breath of change and finding omens of disaster in the simplest occurrences of daily experience. He was apt to boast that he was the man of an open eye, hearing the voice of God and seeing visions from the Almighty, falling into trances in which the shadows of coming events were cast upon his mind, and that he could read all secrets and understand all mysteries. Unlike the great Hebrew prophets, who humbly confessed that the secret of the Lord is with all who fear Him, and so made themselves one with their fellows, he was perverting his high gifts to purposes of self-exaltation and self-aggrandisement. Was it not, then, most salutary that he should be checked and rebuked in this selfish and perilous course? And how could he be more effectually rebuked than by being shewn a whole race possessed of even higher gifts than his own, possessed above all of the gift of waiting for God to reveal his will to them in due time, and so raised out of all dependence on divinations and enchantments? At this spectacle even his own high and sacred endowment seemed but a vulgar toy, and the aspiration was kindled in his breast for that greater good, that greatest of all gifts, the power to walk in ways

of righteousness and to leave the future, with simple trust, in the hands of God.

It is a lesson which we still need to learn. For which of us would not rejoice had he prophetic raptures and trances of which to boast, if men looked up to him as possessed of a solitary and mysterious power, and resorted to him that he might forecast their fate and interpret to them the mysteries by which they are perplexed? Which of us does not at times long to pierce the veil and learn how it fares with those whom we have loved and lost a while, or even what will be the conditions of our own life in years to come or when death shall carry us away, instead of waiting until in due time God shall reveal even this unto us? Let us, then, learn from Balaam, if we have not yet learned it from David or St. Paul, that to rest in the Lord and to wait patiently for Him is a higher achievement than to apprehend all mysteries; and that to do his will in humble trust is a nobler function and power than to foresee what that Will will do.

SAMUEL COX.

ISAIAH, AN IDEAL BIOGRAPHY.

IV. UNDER HEZEKIAH, B.C., 726-698.

WE wonder, as we compare the characters of Ahaz and Hezekiah, how so evil a father could have been the parent of so good a son, how the child could have grown up to manhood uncontaminated by the corrupt atmosphere of the father's court. The answer to that question is in part found in the fact that he was born before the evil tendencies of Ahaz had had time to develop themselves, and that his early years were passed under the influences of a mother who was better than her husband. He was already nine years old when Ahaz succeeded to the throne; and at the time of his birth, the young father, then not more than sixteen, must still have been under the tutelage of the

righteous Jotham, and the bride of his youth was, in the nature of the case, as in the normal practice of Eastern monarchies, chosen not by himself, but by his father. As in other instances where the influence of the mother acted, for good or evil, on the character of the son, the historians, both of the Books of Kings and Chronicles, give the mother's name. She was Abi, or Abijah, the daughter of Zechariah (2 Kings xviii. 2; 2 Chron. xxix. 1). The name Zechariah (=Jehovah remembers) is throughout the history of Israel predominantly a priestly name,¹ and so far would suggest one of those intermarriages between the house of David and that of Aaron, of which we have an example in the union of Jehoshabeath and Jehoiada (2 Chron. xxii. 11). Two of that name belong to the period with which we are now dealing. There was the Zechariah who "had understanding in the visions of God," and who had been Uzziah's counsellor during the better and brighter part of his reign, while he yet "sought Jehovah, and God made him to prosper" (2 Chron. xxvi. 5). He belonged, of course, to a generation earlier than Isaiah's, but that prophet's mention of him (I assume, as before, that the Chronicler abridged from his memoirs of Uzziah) shews that he looked to him with reverence, and had probably drunk from the fountain of his inspiration. The other Zechariah, the son of Jeberechiah,² obviously, as associated with the high priest, a man of high position, and probably belonging to the priesthood, was one of the "faithful witnesses," whom Isaiah summoned to attest his prediction as to his "Haste-booty-Speed-spoil" son. It is, of course, impossible to prove that Hezekiah's mother was connected with either of these, but I submit the hypothesis that she was the daughter of the later, and of the family of the earlier

¹ Comp. Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada (2 Chron. xxiv. 20), the father of John the Baptist, and probably also the prophet of that name.

² The coincidence of names in Zech. i. 1, where that prophet is described as "the son of Berechiah," at least suggests the idea of a lineal descent.

Zechariah, as one which is probable in itself and which throws not a little light upon some of the obscurities of the time and the less known passages in Isaiah's life.

Ahaz, as we have seen, was but a boy of fifteen at the time of his marriage. His father Jotham acted as Isaiah would have wished a king to act, and "did that which was right in the sight of the Lord" (2 Chron. xxvii. 2), and probably under his guidance. The character of the boy prince who was growing up to be his heir already gave signs of its sensuousness and weakness. Would it not be wise to find a teacher and a wife who could guide him, and keep him out of the evils to which his nature was too quick to yield? Given the acknowledged facts of the case, nothing was more natural than that his choice of such a wife should have been determined by the prophet's counsels, and that Isaiah should have chosen one who belonged to a priestly and prophetic family, and so inherited principles that were in harmony with his own. The very name of Abijah (*=My father is Jehovah*) would, to one who dwelt so much on the significance of names, have been an augury of good. The task of influencing the young husband's character must have been almost as hopeless as that which devolved on Seneca when he found himself entrusted with the education of Nero. The prophet, however, had a consolation which was not granted to the philosopher. When Hezekiah was born he devoted himself to the work of superintending his education, and naturally followed the lines on which his own character had been formed. The book of the law of the Lord, and the maxims of the wise of heart which bore the name of Solomon, were to be the groundwork of the boy's training. All critics are agreed that the Book of Proverbs divides itself, in its present form, into four distinct sections: (1) An Introduction (chap. i.-ix.) characterised by the language of strong personal exhortation, by the iteration of the language of authoritative affection, "My son," "My

son," "O ye children" (Prov. i. 8, 15; ii. 1; iii. 1, 11, 21; iv. 1, 10, 20; v. 1; vi. 1, 20; viii. 1, 24), and by the earnest call to the pursuit of that true wisdom which has its beginning in the fear of the Lord (Prov. i. 7). (2) The collection of the Proverbs of Solomon specially so called (chap. x.-xxiv.), without these appeals of direct individual exhortation, dealing generally with the changes and chances of life, its weaknesses and temptations, from the standpoint of prudential ethics. (3) A supplementary collection of like Proverbs definitely assigned to the time of Hezekiah, dealing more emphatically with the duties of a king (Prov. xxv. 1-5, 15; xxviii. 2, 16; xxix. 2, 4, 12, 14, 26); and (4) An Appendix (chap. xxx., xxxi.), containing maxims, from other sources, of the wisdom of the East, one section having a special bearing on the education of a prince amid the temptations of a sensual and luxurious court, in which kings and princes were drinking wine and strong drink, and therefore forgetting the law and perverting the judgment of the afflicted (Prov. xxxi. 1-8, and comp. Isa. v. 12; xxviii. 7). At the risk of seeming to indulge in a somewhat venturesome hypothesis, I throw out the conjecture that the additions to the original nucleus of Chap. x.-xxiv., and therefore the whole form of the Book of Proverbs, may have been due to the editorship of Isaiah, and have been the manual of ethics on which he sought to mould the character of Hezekiah, training him in the wisdom, understanding, prudence, and knowledge which made up his "Ideal of a Patriot King."¹ Happily the boy did not disappoint his training. From youth upwards "he did that which was right in the sight of the Lord" (2 Chron. xxix. 2). There had been no king so true and devoted to Jehovah since the days of David, and there did not rest on him the stain of blood-guiltiness which marred the completeness of David as a pattern-ruler. Of all princes born to the purple, he had

¹ Comp. the portrait of the ideal Ruler in Isai. xi. 1-8, and note the identity of its ethical terminology with that of the Book of Proverbs.

least of the wanton arrogance of youth. In his early, as in his later, years he was the Alfred of Jewish history. We can think of the prophet as watching his growth with a thankful satisfaction, seeing in him at least an approximate fulfilment of the ideal anointed king, whose portrait is sketched in xi. 1-10, not apparently without a deliberate intention that Hezekiah should strive, as far as in him lay, to realize the ideal. With such a prospect before him, Isaiah could wait in patience till the reign of the wretched Ahaz came to its close, and Hezekiah ascended the throne at the age of twenty-five, the prophet himself having then reached, according to the calculation with which we started, the age of fifty-two. It was in view of the hopes of the new reign that he told Philistia, as we have seen, of the fiery king-serpent, wary and subtle and yet terrible in his wrath, whom they had now to dread.

We trace the hands of Isaiah from the very outset in the measures taken by the king. His threats against the Philistines were translated into acts, and they were subdued unto Gaza, "from the tower of the watchman unto the fenced city" (2 Kings xviii. 8). The worship of the high places, and the images and the obscene symbol of the Asherah with which Ahaz had defiled the holy city and its neighbourhood, were destroyed. Even the brazen serpent, to which the people burnt incense as to the relic of a venerable past, possibly not without some view to its being, like the snakes of Æsculapius and those in other forms of serpent-worship, a symbol of healing, was treated as a common thing, a mere Nehushtan (=bit of brass), and broken up and cast into the furnace. "After him there was none like unto him among all the kings of Judah, nor any that were before him" (2 Kings xviii. 5). That was the judgment passed upon the general character of his reign by the writer of the Books of Kings. The Chronicler, however, here, as in the case of Uzziah, manifestly gives us an epitome of a history

which Isaiah himself had written (2 Chron. xxxii. 33). It is scarcely probable, however, that he dwelt entirely in that history, as the Chronicler dwells almost exclusively, on the details of the religious reform and the re-organization of the worship of the Temple. The tone and style of the Chronicler are pre-eminently those of a compiler from the archives of the Temple, and not of a prophet. But we cannot doubt that that work of restoration would have Isaiah's entire sanction. It must have seemed to him a long step towards the fulfilment of his vision of a time when the "mountain of the Lord's house should be established on the top of the mountains" (ii. 2), when a man should cast away his idols of silver and gold "to the moles and bats" (ii. 20), when in that mountain the Lord should "make a feast of fat things for all the nations" (xxv. 6). It was Isaiah's work as a prophet to denounce a dead and formal ritual. It was not less his work as a statesman to rejoice in the re-establishment of a ritual which might be the expression of a new and higher life. As the most spiritual utterance of true penitence in Ps. li. had ended in words which spoke of the worship of the Temple, of sacrifices of righteousness and burnt-offerings, so it was with Isaiah. As himself a psalmist he could not but welcome the new burst of psalmody, the revival of the songs of David and of Asaph (2 Chron. xxix. 30), the new hymns of the sons of Korah, the purification of the Temple, the restoration of the old brazen altar which had been displaced by Ahaz. Without the organizing head and the working hand of a counsellor like Isaiah, Hezekiah could hardly, in the first year of his reign and with the suddenness of a *coup d'état*, have effected so great a change.

In the next phase of the king's policy the influence of Isaiah is even more directly traceable. His predictions as to the Northern Kingdom had received an *ex abundanti* fulfilment. The tribes on the east side of the Jordan had

been carried off by Tiglath Pileser, probably attacking them as the ally of Ahaz (2 Kings xv. 29). Shalmaneser, provoked by the revolt of Hoshea the last king of Israel, and the alliance into which he had entered with Sabaco (the So of 2 Kings xvii. 4) the Ethiopian ruler of Egypt, attacked and captured the king and laid siege to Samaria (B.C. 724). He did not live to see its fall, but his successor Sargon, in B.C. 721, completed what he had begun, and "the spoil of Samaria was taken away before the king of Assyria" (viii. 4), and the greater part of its population carried off to the cities of the Medes (2 Kings xvii. 6). A remnant, however, was left to till the soil, chiefly consisting, of course, as afterwards in the case of Judah (Jer. xxxix. 9), of the peasantry and the humbler townsmen who had been ready to submit; and the policy adopted by the king, at Isaiah's suggestion, was to present himself to them as their protector, and to invite them to return to the religion and worship of their fathers, which they had abandoned since the days of Jeroboam. The prophet, who remembered the dark days when Ephraim devoured Manasseh, and Manasseh Ephraim, while both, in spite of their mutual hostilities, were united against Judah (ix. 21), now looked forward to a time when Ephraim should no more envy Judah, and Judah should no longer vex Ephraim (xi. 13). Might not the restored unity of the monarchy have a yet wider influence for good, and be a rallying point for the exiles who had already been carried far off into "Assyria and Elam and Shinar and Hamath and the islands of the sea"? (xi. 11).

The hopes of the prophet, like other prophetic visions, had even then at least a partial fulfilment. The king sent his couriers to all Israel and Judah, with a special message to Ephraim and Manasseh, inviting them to keep the Passover at Jerusalem. The letters which they carried bear in every line the stamp of Isaiah's mind. The *nomen et omen*

of Shear-Jashub was, at last, fulfilled. They were to "turn to the Lord God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, that He might turn to the *remnant* that had escaped out of the hand of the kings of Assyria" (2 Chron. xxx. 6; Isa. i. 9, 16; vii. 3). There was the same hope that their repentance might lead to the return of their brethren who were now in exile, as that which, we have just seen, was uttered by Isaiah (2 Chron. xxx. 9). At first the result was disappointing. As the messengers posted on their way through Ephraim and Manasseh, even to Zebulun, the people laughed them to scorn and mocked them. There was, however, enough success to be to the prophet as the pledge and earnest of the future. Ephraim might hold aloof in the haughtiness of its hereditary pride, but "divers of Asher and Manasseh and of Zebulun humbled themselves, and came to Jerusalem" (2 Chron. xxx. 10, 11). It might well seem to Isaiah as if the good time was coming when the shame which had rested on the land of Zebulun and of Naphtali should be turned to honour,¹ and light should stream in upon "the people who walked in darkness, and dwelt in the land of the shadow of death" (ix. 1, 2).

It was in accordance with the width of the prophet's mind as one to whom (to give Tillotson's words a new application) "Charity was above rubrics," that the date of the Passover was altered, from the first to the second month, (2 Chron. xxx. 13), for the convenience of the people, to allow time for those who had to come from a distance, and for the necessary preparations for a festival of almost unprecedented magnitude. With a like disregard to the narrowness of rubrics, the *adiaphora*, or the "infinitely little," of all religions, the usual ceremonial purifications were in

¹ It will be seen that I follow most recent commentators in altering the Authorized Version, and reading as follows: "Surely, there is now no darkness to her that was afflicted. In the earlier time He brought shame on the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali. But in the later time He hath brought honour on the way by the sea, the further side of Jordan, the border of the heatlen."

many cases dispensed with, and instead of repelling the strangers who thus came, as heretical and unclean, because they "did eat the passover otherwise than it was written," the prayer of Hezekiah went up, in the very accents of Isaiah, for those who had the true cleansing, though they lacked the outward symbol of it (i. 16): "The good Lord pardon every one that prepareth his heart to seek the Lord God of his fathers, though he be not cleansed according to the purification of the sanctuary" (2 Chron. xxx. 18, 19). It was, in modern phrase, a great revival mission. The change from the formal and stately, but dead, worship of the days of Uzziah, was like that which has in our own time transformed the cold "Cathedral services" of the Georgian era into the warmth and glow of such gatherings as are now held in St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey. Nor was the voice of the preacher wanting. Hezekiah, refraining from the strictly priestly work on which Uzziah had ventured, entered, we can hardly doubt under Isaiah's guidance, on that of a preacher and a prophet. He "spake comfortably unto all the Levites," and they taught men "the good knowledge of the Lord" (2 Chron. xxx. 22). Levites and Priests sang day by day their appropriate hymns, and accompanied them with instruments of music. The enthusiasm of the people rose to such a height that the seven days of the Passover seemed all too short for their confessions and their joy; and, for the third time setting aside the strict letter of the Mosaic ritual, the feast was prolonged for yet another seven days of gladness (2 Chron. xxx. 23). Nor was the gathering limited to Israelites only. There were "strangers," proselytes, *i.e.* of various extraction, mingled with the congregation. It might well seem to Isaiah to be the beginning of that exaltation of the mountain of the Lord's house of which he and Micah had spoken (Isa. ii. 2; Mic. iv. 1, 2). It was, we may well believe, on some such occasion as this that the

sons of Korah wrote the psalm (Ps. lxxxvii.), which records how the natives of Rahab (= Egypt) and Babylon, of Philistia and Tyre and Ethiopia were all registered as naturalised citizens of Zion, no longer strangers and foreigners, but of the household of God.

The great Passover with its great joy, the like of which had not been known in Jerusalem since the days of Solomon, came to an end; but it was followed by sufficient evidence that the effect was something more than transitory. The iconoclastic work which had begun in Judah was extended to Ephraim and Manasseh, and the idols (the historian using almost the very words of the Prophet) were "utterly destroyed" (2 Chron. xxxi. 1; Isa. ii. 18). And with this, the joy and thankfulness of the people shewed itself in large and liberal offerings. Tithes and first-fruits which had before been paid grudgingly were now brought in abundantly, and were piled up in heaps, for which, so far did they exceed the average, special storehouses had to be provided (2 Chron. xxxi. 2-19).

The king, and his prophet minister, may well be pardoned if they saw in this re-union of Israel something like the dawn of a Messianic time. All things seemed to go well with him. He "wrought that which was good and right and truth before the Lord his God. And in every work that he began in the service of the house of God, and in the law, and in the commandments, he did it with all his heart, and prospered" (2 Chron. xxxi. 20, 21). It might seem a question, however, whether the foreign policy of Hezekiah was characterized by a like wisdom, whether he was guided in that policy by the counsels of the prophet. His success in restoring the unity of his kingdom led him to assert its independence: "He rebelled against the king of Assyria, and served him not." It seemed to him that this was the action of a patriot king, and undeterred by the fate of Hoshea, who had taken a like course, he refused the tribute

which was the acknowledgment of Assyrian suzerainty (2 Kings xviii. 7).

To understand the series of events which followed, we have, in the judgment of nearly all Assyriologists, to modify the chronology of the received text of the Old Testament records.¹ That chronology, as it stands, gives the dates of the chief events of Hezekiah's reign as follows :

B.C.

- 726. Accession of Hezekiah.
- 723. Shalmaneser lays siege to Samaria.
- 721. Capture of Samaria by a king of Assyria not named in the Old Testament, but identified by the Assyrian inscriptions with Sargon.
- 713. Sennacherib invades the fenced cities of Judah—Illness of Hezekiah—Embassy from Merodach Baladan.
- 710. Siege of Jerusalem—Mission of Rabshakeh—Destruction of Sennacherib's army.
- 698. Death of Hezekiah.

The Assyrian annals, however, as interpreted by most experts, give the following additional data.

- 722. Death of Shalmaneser, and accession of Sargon.
- 711. Invasion of Philistia by Sargon.
- 721-710. Merodach Baladan ruling, as a rebel against Sargon, at Babylon.
- 705. Death of Sargon and accession of Sennacherib.
- 701. Sennacherib's invasion of Judah.
- 698. Death of Hezekiah.
- 681. Death of Sennacherib.

¹ The necessity of a change is recognized by Sir H. Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, Sayce, Schrader, Kuenen and Cheyne, and Le Normant. Differences of detail in the solution of a somewhat difficult problem were, of course, to be expected. Most agree in supposing that the arrangement which placed the narrative of the king's sickness and the embassy after that of the destruction of Sennacherib's army, led to the erroneous inference that those events were actually later, and that we must place them, in order to reconcile them with the inscriptions in which Sennacherib describes his victory over Hezekiah, as taking place in the third year of his reign, at a much earlier date. Le Normant (*Ancient History*, vol. i. p. 181), ventures on a still bolder hypothesis, *sc.* that they followed Sennacherib's retreat, but that the reign of Hezekiah lasted for forty-one years, Manasseh having been associated with him in the kingdom from his birth, and that the annalist took the date of his birth, B.C. 641, as the beginning of his reign, and therefore the close of Hezekiah's.

It was probably not long after the fall of Samaria and the partial restoration of the unity of Israel, that Hezekiah determined on the assertion of his independence. Sargon, who records the capture of the capital of the Northern Kingdom, makes no mention of any attack on Judah. He led his armies southernwards against the king of Gaza, and Sabaco, the Ethiopian king of Egypt, took the first of these princes prisoner and imposed tribute on the latter, and then returned to wars in Armenia. Then came an expedition against Ashdod, B.C. 710 (of which we have a trace in Isa. xx. 1), and that in its turn was followed by the final subjugation of Merodach Baladan, who had for eleven years ruled at Babylon as the head of a successful revolt (Le Normant, *Anc. Hist.*, vol. i. pp. 392-397).

Hezekiah would seem to have calculated on Sargon's hands being full. Visions of an extended empire floated before his eyes. As the years passed on without any immediate cause of fear, his plans became wider and more ambitious. For a time the sharp stroke of sickness came, as if to teach him lowliness. The tone of Isaiah in announcing that the end was near and that he must put his house in order, is that of one who looks with some touch of disappointment at the career which seemed to be coming to an untimely close. The king had been careful and troubled about many things, had made his palace stately and gorgeous, but the "inner house," the mansion of the soul, (the words, perhaps, include also, the true building up of the life of the kingdom), had not been set in order. The prayer of Hezekiah averted the evil for the time. He could appeal, perhaps not without a touch of undue self-praise, to the integrity of his life, to his zeal for Jehovah. He had prayed for life, not only for the mere joy of living, nor from a craven fear of death, nor a shrinking from the vague dimness of the shadow-world of Hades, but because he desired to complete the work of delivering his king-

dom and his city from the threatening power of Assyria. And the prophet tells him that both his prayers were answered. Fifteen years were to be added to his life, and the God of David his father would defend the city from the hands of the king of Assyria. The obvious wish of the prophet was to lead him to trust in that protection and not in an arm of flesh. It is noteworthy that here, as in the case of Ahaz, the prophet offers a sign in confirmation of his promise, and that there was in this instance no sullen refusal. The reversal of the shadow on the sundial of Ahaz¹ was the token that the times of the lives of individual men and of kingdoms were in the hands of Jehovah; and the king's psalm of thanksgiving expressed the fulness of faith with which he received the promise which was thus confirmed. As yet apparently he had no heir to succeed him. That which he most rejoices in is the prospect that he, as "a father to his children," should make known the truth, the faithfulness of God (Isa. xxxviii. 19).

It was, we may believe, in the hope of avoiding the peril of an interrupted succession, that Hezekiah, within two years after his recovery from his sickness, married the mother of Manasseh. The prophet would seem to have looked on that marriage with a sanguine hope. In the name of the new queen, Hephzibah (= *my delight is in her*), he saw an augury of good which determined the form of one of his most glorious prophecies of the restoration of Israel (lxii. 4), and which he contrasts with the name Azubah (= *Forsaken*), which had been that of the mother of Jehoshaphat (1 Kings xxii. 42). The name given to the heir apparent, on his birth, was also emphatically *nomen et omen*. Manasseh bore its witness to the king's wish

¹ We note in the description of the dial (literally, *steps*) another instance of the art culture of Ahaz. The Chaldean astronomers of Babylon were the inventors of the dial, and this, perhaps in the form of steps marked with degrees to indicate the time, with a tall *gnomon* to cast the shadow, was probably imported either directly from that city, or mediately through Damascus.

to restore the unity of Israel by conciliating the remnant of the most powerful of the Northern tribes. Its meaning (= *Forgetfulness*) proclaimed an amnesty of all the evil and rebellious past.

The lessons of sickness had, however, been learnt imperfectly, and temptation came from a new and unexpected quarter. Merodach Baladan, who had for some years been carrying on a successful resistance at Babylon to the power of the Assyrian kings, assuming for himself the title and insignia of an independent monarch, heard both of Hezekiah's power, and of his recovery from sickness. The latter furnished him with the occasion for which he had been seeking. Ostensibly the embassy which he sent was one of formal congratulation. Really it had for its object the formation of an alliance offensive and defensive against their common enemy. The king, who seemed as if he were likely to revive the old greatness of Israel in the days of David and Solomon, would be a welcome confederate in that cause. The letter which the ambassadors brought with them was, we cannot doubt, full of flattering and persuasive words. Hezekiah was led to think that he held the balance of power in his hands, and was the arbiter of the fate of nations. We can scarcely wonder that he fell into the snare. The Babylonian ambassadors were invited to see all the treasures of his palace, all the silver and the gold, all the weapons of his arsenals. They probably looked on them with somewhat of the feeling which led Blucher to say, as he walked through the streets of London, "*Himmel!* what a city to plunder!" It lies in the nature of the case that the officials of the king's court, the chamberlain, and the secretaries, and the treasurers, must have taken part in the reception of the ambassadors, and apparently without a word of opposition. They too welcomed the prospect of what seemed a valuable alliance (xxxix. 1, 2).

But Isaiah did not welcome it, and consistent with

himself, from first to last, would not tune his voice according to the time. To him it seemed that the teachings of the history of the past had been forgotten, and that Hezekiah was pursuing the very policy against which he had protested almost at the outset of his public life. Merodach Baladan would be to him what Tiglath Pileser had been to Ahaz, a source of weakness and not of strength. Hezekiah was entering on an unknown future of trouble and disaster. The step which he had taken seemed to Isaiah the infatuation of one whom God had for a time left, "to try him, that he might know all that was in his heart" (2 Chron. xxxii. 31), in whom therefore there was no longer the "spirit of counsel and of judgment, of wisdom and the fear of Jehovah." In a tone as authoritative and almost as indignant, as that in which he had spoken to Ahaz, he questioned him as to the reports which he had heard—Could such things be possible?—and drew from him, in spite of the weak evasive apology that the country from which the ambassadors had come was too remote to affect the interests of Judah, the confession of the truth, and told him of the doom which he had thus drawn upon himself. The treasures in which he gloried, inherited and accumulated, should be one day carried off to Babylon. The yet unborn sons (the form of the prediction confirms the conclusion already suggested that Hezekiah, at the time of his illness, was still unmarried), should be eunuchs in the palace of its king.¹ The king's acceptance of the sentence, though not wanting in an

¹ We commonly find the fulfilment of the prediction in the Babylonian Captivity, and the presence of Daniel and his companions "children of the king's seed," as eunuchs in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. i. 3-7). It is probable, however, that there was an earlier fulfilment. If Manasseh, the king of Judah, was carried in fetters to Babylon (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11), it lies in the nature of the case that he may have been accompanied by princes of the royal house. It was quite after the manner of Assyrian kings that they should be treated as Daniel and his friends were afterwards treated by the king of Babylon.

apparent humility, thankful even for a respite, betrays, I venture to think, something like a deterioration of character. David in a like crisis, brought on by a like self-will, thought of others rather than himself ("Lo, I have sinned and I have done perversely; but these sheep what have they done? . . . Let thine hand, I pray thee, be on me and on my father's house" 2 Sam. xxiv. 17; 1 Chron. xxi. 17). Hezekiah's resignation ("there shall be peace and truth in my days") has in it something of the selfish complacency of "*Après moi le deluge.*"

It is a natural, if not a necessary, inference from Isaiah's action in this matter that he had had from the first neither part nor lot in the king's plans. The broad outline of the prophet's counsel had all along been to "wait on the Lord;" to accept, that is, the guidance of events, to abstain from schemes and policies, and grandiloquent talk about what we should call interests and glory and prestige. If the guiding hand of God had led them to acknowledge the suzerainty of Assyria by the payment of a tribute, it was better to endure that burden than to stake all in the desperate game of double or quits, independence or absolute subjugation and captivity. Isaiah who opposed, as we shall see, every plan that was the natural corollary of the assertion of independence, was not likely to have approved of that policy in its inception. Rather would he urge men, as Jeremiah did afterwards, and, at the same cost of seeming to men faint-hearted and unpatriotic (Jer. xxxvii. 14), to be content with leading their own life as a nation, walking in righteousness and purity and truth, instead of mixing themselves in schemes and diplomacies and intrigues that could have no satisfying issue. "In returning and rest shall ye be saved; in quietness and confidence shall be your strength" (xxx. 15) was at once his watchword as a statesman, and the burden of his teaching as a prophet. One indication of this policy and of the desire to impress it,

in every possible way, upon the people of Jerusalem, is seen in a strange episode of Isaiah's life. Sargon had sent his Tartan (=commander-in-chief) to lay siege to Ashdod. Alarmed at the nearness of the Assyrian army, the advisers of Hezekiah urged the plan of an alliance with Egypt and its Ethiopian ruler. Words of warning fell dead on the ears of an eager and excited people, and the prophet was led to try the power of symbolic acts. He laid aside his sackcloth dress, the "rough garment" of his order (Zech. xiii. 4), and was seen month after month, for three years, in the streets of Jerusalem, in the dress, or rather the no-dress, of a prisoner of war marched off to exile, barefoot and with just a short tunic over his naked body. That, so he taught men, would be the fate of the Egyptians and Ethiopians and those who trusted in them (xx.).

Hezekiah, however, had counsellors who thought themselves wiser than the prophet. They sneered at his perpetual iteration of that text as to the true rest, the true refreshing of the weary (xxviii. 12). They were, for the most part, new men who had pushed themselves into prominence and wealth, and indulged in all the vices of a sensuous luxury. As he had in his earlier days spoken of the rulers of Jerusalem as the princes of Sodom and Gomorrah (i. 9), so he speaks of these as the "drunkards of Ephraim," reproducing in the holy city the coarse excesses of Samaria (xxviii. 13). They found supporters in priests and prophets whom they invited to their banquets, and who applauded them to the echo, inflamed with wine and strong drink, taking their drunken dreams of victory for true prophetic visions (xxviii. 7). The prophet does not shrink from reproducing the very syllables of their sarcasm: "Is he," they said, "preaching to children just weaned, that he thus harps for ever on the same string," "*semper eandem canens cantilenam, ad nauseam usque*"—always "precept upon precept, line upon line, here a little and there a little," with a wear-

some monotony (xxviii. 7-13)? To them his speech seemed as contemptible as St. Paul's did to the scoffers of Corinth (2 Cor. x. 10). Isaiah pleads guilty to the charge, even as St. Paul did. The Word of the Lord which it was given him to speak could not fail to be monotonous. They were as children, needing that iteration of the first elements of a true teaching. If they would not listen to him, God would find other teachers, the barbarian conquerors of "stammering lips and another tongue," of a strange speech and utterance that seemed unintelligible, who would weary them with harsh commands and brutal insults (xxviii. 11). In that day, they should be "drunken, but not with wine, and stagger, but not through strong drink" (xxix. 9).

Balancing this party in the courts of Hezekiah was another of a higher temper and of a character from which more might be hoped. They did not mock the prophet; they paid him much outward honour. They were half-disposed to follow his counsel when they could do so without danger. But even on these Isaiah could not look with unmixed satisfaction. A memorable passage (xxii. 15-25) brings before us two typical representatives, leaders of the two parties. There was Shebna, the head of the open antagonists of the prophet; a man of ignoble, perhaps of foreign, birth, who made his way to the high position of treasurer (literally, *associate*) and chamberlain ("over the house"), and was, in fact, the grand vizier of Hezekiah. He had accumulated wealth, not altogether with clean hands, and was one of the millionaires of Jerusalem. The "chariots of his glory" were more stately than those of the king himself. Priests and prophets courted his favour and sat at his table. As a *novus homo* he had no sepulchre of his fathers connected with the memories of ancient days, and therefore he constructed one for himself hewn out on high, in the face of a lofty rock, of exceptional magnificence, outdoing even the tombs of the kings them-

selves. Such a man was obviously one whom Isaiah could not look on without indignation and antipathy. In this last act of presumption he saw the "haughty spirit which goes before a fall," and with the indignant question which mocked at his ostentatious arrogance: "What hast thou here, and whom hast thou here?" he predicts accordingly the varying stages of his fall, loss of office (so a few years later we find him reduced to the lower position of a scribe, or secretary, xxxvii. 2), degradation, exile.

In striking contrast with Shebna, at the head of the opposite party in the king's cabinet, was the respectable Eliakim, a man with an inherited position of dignity and not unworthy of it, conspicuous for kindness and integrity, free from the oppressive violence and corruption which were common in Eastern rulers. In him Isaiah saw one who had it in him to be a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, worthy to be the king's chief minister, bearing the key of the house of David with supreme authority, so that none could shut where he would open, or open where he would shut.¹ Such a man might well be as a "glorious throne in his father's house." But even here there was an element of weakness, and Isaiah paints it with a master-hand. Such a statesman was as a peg driven into a wall, firm and strong. Men could, in the most literal sense of the word, *depend* upon him. But what if these dependents multiplied, if relations and friends, servants and parasites, gathered round him and fed upon his greatness? What if there should hang upon that peg, not only the "glory of his father's house," but the "offspring and the issue, vessels of clay as well as of silver, cups and flagons of all sorts and sizes?" Well, in that case, the answer was not far to seek. The peg that had seemed so firm would then be removed and be cut off, and with it would fall all that hung upon it. In that

¹ The reader will remember the higher and, as it were, transfigured application of the words to the true Prince of the House of David, in Rev. iii. 7.

parable Isaiah, with a grave and earnest irony, indicated the evils of the nepotism and favouritism from which even statesmen of the better class (Bacon occurs to one's thoughts as a memorable instance) are not always exempt. It was not long before a new crisis presented itself in the foreign politics of Judah in which the two parties took, as might be expected, their natural lines of action, Isaiah standing apart from, and above them both, as in a solitary greatness.

E. H. PLUMPTRE.

TEXTUAL CRITICISM ILLUSTRATED FROM THE PRINTING-OFFICE.

III. AWKWARD READINGS.—The second of the great critical canons which we have to consider is the one which states, under a variety of forms, that the reading which has about it something difficult, or apparently untrue, or harsh, ungrammatical, or in any way awkward or unlikely, is *more* likely to be correct than the one which naturally appears so. And do I really suppose, it will be gravely asked, that a law which is stamped with the authority of Bengel and Griesbach and of all the great critics since criticism began, can be overthrown by a statement deduced from the mistakes of modern compositors? No, I do not; but unless human nature has itself changed in the interval, I do think that it has been made a very great deal too much of. It seems to assume, in fact—and that in the most downright opposition to all other textual phenomena but the particular one with which it happens to be engaged—that all our various readings came about by editorial operation alone! Did the homœotels come about editorially, or were they not rather the most mechanical of transcribers' oversights and requiring editorial care to set them right? And if Codices B and N enjoyed least of any of this editorial care, and one of them at any rate has great numbers of

these most glaring of all errors left wholly uncorrected, is it rational to persist in treating these two codices as if practically pure from copyists' defects? I do not dispute the probability of editors having altered numbers of hard readings into easier ones—for even compositors do this, far oftener than would be supposed, when it appears to them that an author has made a clerical mistake. But this I assert without any misgiving, that when they thus go out of their way to make, as editors, one change for the better, they go on in their own way, as copyists, to make twenty or fifty changes for the worse. It surely cannot be reasonable, then, whenever any question between smoothness and awkwardness occurs, to jump to the conclusion that it is a case of editorial change to the former, when so many times the number of copyists' errors result demonstrably the other way.

It may be fair however to notice that upon one point which falls under this heading—that of substituting a common word for an uncommon one (which often *introduces* the “awkward” for the sake of avoiding the “unlikely”)—compositors would supply the modern school with a large and unquestionable measure of support. If then to a rapid glance an unusual word has the appearance of a very familiar one, the change to the latter is found to be made, shall I say, in about as many instances as not. Thus in a geological work that has just passed through my hands I have again and again had such sentences as, “The Permian strata lie *unconformably* upon the Carboniferous,” and it is not very surprising that until the men themselves got habituated to the term they almost invariably expressed it that the one lay *uncomfortably* upon the other. Still more laughable was a sentence in which we were told of a woman who “married her *unfortunate* sister,” for which the writer had intended “her importunate suitor.” But instances of this kind are familiar enough, and I need not extend this paragraph by

adding to them now. Their mention may however conduct us to the first subdivision of the class—a class not dealing exclusively with what is “awkward,” but which I may more comprehensively term “copyists’ substitutions other than those designed for the purpose of improvement.”

1. *Indistinctness of Copy.*—This is of course a very different phenomenon, as it prevails in the rapid manuscript of the present day, and such element of an analogy thereto as might occasionally trouble the ancient calligraphers. I need not give a single modern instance; the fact is really too notorious. What did prevail in the case of the early codices was perhaps all but confined to instances of faded strokes or actual defacement of the parchment—though the clumsily formed letters of lay transcribers would tend very considerably to aggravate these obscurities. In such a case we may suppose that sometimes editorial skill would be brought to bear to restore the passage by the best available means—possibly by actual reference to another manuscript; but at other times the copyist element would have its way, and almost the first guess that was at all plausible would be acted upon. The famous case of **OC** and **ΘC** will occur to every mind, and there are disputed readings in numbers to which a similar mode of explanation may be found to apply; though unfortunately sometimes, as here, it is a question as to whether something had really faded, or whether the supposition that it had faded was the cause of its first insertion. Then we have “short readings,” resulting apparently from this cause (belonging therefore strictly to our Division II.). By remarking the ease with which an indistinct **H** and **T** could be confused (from the fineness with which horizontal strokes were usually written) we may perceive a possible explanation for the omission by **B N** of Matthew xviii. 11, ἦλθεν γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός—where, as τί immediately follows, the verse (having η for its opening letter) may have been simply

skipped over from homœoarchy. But a still more important instance seems reasonably to fall under this section, and thereby to assist us in banishing the suspicion which rests upon "the first word from the cross," or the prayer for the murderers (omitted by the scribe of B, and erased by him from \aleph —absent also from D). Relying upon the effort shewn in the codices to begin sentences with *lines*, and the preference for ending these as far as practicable with *words*, we may think it likely that in some early copy the passage, with the line preceding, stood as under :—

ΕΞΑΡΙΣΤΕΡΩΝ
ΟΔΕΙΣΕΛΕΓΕΝ
ΠΑΤΕΡΑΦΕCAY
ΤΟΙCΟΥΓΑΡΟΙΔΑ
CΙΝΤΙΠΟΙΟΥCΙΝ

Now if the end of the first of these lines was considerably faded, its final letters might present almost the same appearance as the CIN or even YCIN which terminates the last; and though the *ἀριστερῶν* was of necessity rightly deciphered, the fact of the resemblance might none the less cause the four following lines to be skipped over by homœotel. A lithograph would be necessary for making this obviously clear, but in spite (perhaps in consequence) of the high central stroke of the ω as we find it in very early copies, the confusion of that letter with C!—both being faded, and somewhat uncouthly formed—is one of the easiest mistakes in the world. I may be told of course that this is mere guess-work; but no one experienced in any kind of copying can doubt for a moment that cases of *this kind* did occur over and over again, and I would rather adhere to the guess in reference to this particular reading than consent to admitting the faintest aspersion on one of the most treasured passages in the Gospel narrative—the bare marginal hint at the non-genuineness of which has sufficed to rest upon the Revised Version a slur which will perhaps never be wiped away.

2. *Influence of Neighbouring Words.*—The exact form of a word becomes frequently transmuted by means of a mental influence exerted upon the copyist by some other word either before or after it. We have already seen (First Article, II. 1. c) how a recurrent termination may operate mentally to cause an omission; now we have to observe how a termination or other portion of a word may itself be made recurrent by a sort of mental-mechanical sympathy. Thus it occasionally happens in printing that the *s* which forms the plural of a noun is followed up by the same letter being incongruously appended to a verb. Similarly I have had letters doubled so as to resemble those in a contiguous word, *e.g.* “*ann inn*” and “*soo too*,” whilst I have also had instances, too many to be mere chance “*literals*,” of an initial being conformed to that of the word before or after. Here is a batch of miscellaneous examples: “*children of Ammon*,” “*inspired Scriptured*,” “*it is virtually identically*,” “*to beging by clearing*,” “*a pamphlect of which the main object*,” and (I hope I shall be forgiven for citing it, but it has happened *twice* over, and the second time from print copy) “*Westcott and Hott*.” Yet one more, and it is a very striking case, in a reprint too: “*wonders and sons done by the Apostles*”—where the conformation of “*signs*” to the spelling and sound of the words both preceding and following is so precisely analogous to the altering of the last vowel of *καθαρίζον* by A B N in *εἰς τὸν ἀφεδρῶνα ἐκπορεύεται καθαρίζων πάντα τὰ βρώματα* (Mark vii. 19), that though even Canon Cook approves of the change, I cannot help preferring to account for it in this manner. Terminations shew this influence the most, and in a language like the Greek, with its continual recurrences of *-αι* and *-ει*, *-ας* and *-αις*, *-ους* and *-ους*, *-αν* and *-εν*, *-τε* and *-σθε*, and a host besides, the scribes must have been incessantly liable to this aberration and thus have very frequently allowed one word unconsciously to metamorphose another. If the result was

nonsense it would be detected by the first person who read over the passage; but there would be now and then an instance in which a sense, though a difficult and awkward one, would still be educible from the corrupted form, and I beg to offer two or three other typical instances in which I believe this fact to lie at the foundation. The first is the famous *εὐδοκία* or *εὐδοκίας* in the song of the angels, where it seems extremely probable that the appended *ς* of A B D \aleph may be nothing more than a mechanical repetition of the one at the end of the preceding *ἀνθρώποις*. Another is that of 2 Corinthians iii. 3, where the critical reading (A B C D \aleph) is *οὐκ ἐν πλαξὶν λιθίναις ἀλλ' ἐν πλαξὶν καρδίαις σαρκίνοις*, but where the vast superiority in sense of the old reading *καρδίας* seems to make it reasonably certain that the string of datives led the copyist in the other case into this easy and common error. Scarcely different is the *συγκεκρασμένους* (A B C D) of Hebrews iv. 2, which is only separated by the little word *μή* from the preceding *ἐκείνους* to which the accusative plural for nominative singular is apparently due. And then, to take an instance of change in the middle of a word, is it not likely that the strange *λίθον* for *λίνον* in Revelation xv. 6 (A C) was simply brought into being from the effect of the *θ* in the following *καθαρόν*? Yet again, Dr. Scrivener's "Collation of Codex Sinaiticus" supplies me with a case of transmuted initials, the *σπορᾶς φθαρτῆς* of 1 Peter i. 23 appearing in A C \aleph as *φθορᾶς φθαρτῆς* (I cannot agree, however, with the learned Doctor that this was due to the scribe's *eye* passing from one word to the other; such changes are seldom due to misreading the copy, but are effected in the *mind* during the actual process of transcription).

3. *Confusion by Sound*.—The examples which fall under this self-explanatory heading are at first suggestive of writing from dictation; so common however are they in the work of compositors—who never under any circumstances proceed upon that system—that the occasional instances to

be found in the codices must not be taken as evidence of its having been adopted in their case. With the one as with the other it may be set down as due to nothing more than a mental confusion occurring between the two acts of reading over the words in a string and putting that particular one into type or ink. Within a few days I have noted as examples—"referring" for "recurring," "service" for "surface," "zeal" for "seal," and "death" for "depth;" also, as illustrating the blending of two words—"seemed to" for "seem to," and "once such" for "one such." The first of these examples may help to shew that there is nothing serious in the *καυχῆσθαι* for *καυθήσθαι* read by A B N in 1 Corinthians xiii. 3.

4. *Haste to conclude a Word.*—Just as a copyist is apt to fix his mind upon the end of a clause (II. 2), so he fixes it upon the end of a word, and is thus liable to cut this down, especially if when so mutilated it makes a word still. The examples I have actually noted are "hour" for "honour," "defence" for "deference" and "easy" for "easily," but I have certainly met with others, similar in kind to "advise" for "advertise," "press" for "process," and "purse" for "purpose." Of the same nature I suspect was the *ἀναβάς* for *ἀναβοήσας* in Mark xv. 8 (B D N), and the *χρηστός* for *χρηστότερος* in the much-quoted passage "The old is better" (B N in Luke v. 39). In this last case we have a kind of *mental homœotel of letters* (o to o); just as a compositor, in the setting of the present paper, cut down "containing" to "containg" by jumping from *n* to *n*.

5. *Changes to Cognate Words.*—This is a feature which in its results has something of an editorial appearance, but which is nevertheless wholly unintentional and sometimes produces effects simply disastrous. Among compositors it seems a habit of occasional individuals only, and this circumstance may warn us, in reference to the Greek, to apply to it only as a *dernier ressort*. Sometimes I have found

words substituted which were nearly or quite identical in meaning, as "appears" for "seems," "alteration" for "change," and even "snakes" for "serpents;" then there has been a shade of variation, as "altogether" for "unconditionally," "ordinary circumstances" for "existing circumstances," and "France and Germany" for "France and Belgium." Neither of these examples, which are all actual and recent, could possibly have come about from misreading of the copy, so that they can only be explained as a slight wandering of the mind from the definite words just read over to others more or less closely similar. I remember, too, a dramatic critique in which the plainly written name "Oxenford" was changed into some ordinary one like "Smith" or "Harris"—in which case nothing seems so probable as that the compositor happened at the moment to hear a comrade of the name in question addressed. I caught myself not long ago, when having to write a compositor's name on a proof and close against it to correct a name in the proof itself, in the act of confusing the one with the other; and doubtless many a one who has never entered a printing-office will be able from personal experience to supply further examples. Now it is evident to the slightest thought that a mistake of this kind, if not detected at the time, is extremely likely to escape observation altogether; and I therefore greatly prefer to extend the occasional incidence of this habit to the ancient copyists rather than to rearrange the course of Gospel history because in some of the oldest manuscripts (B C Q R N) we find *Ἰουδαίας* for *Γαλιλαίας* in Luke iv. 44. What is there more extraordinary than the above in some early scribe having thought of Judæa when he found mention of Galilee?

6. *One Error obscuring Another.*—This is a point more especially concerning the correcting reader, whom the vexatious discovery is continually awaiting that, after having given the compositor the trouble of altering a line for a

certain mistake, there was all the while, as broad as the day, a second error by the side of the first. Why did we not notice this before, we fretfully ask ourselves; and others, with larger measure of indignation, ask the same as to errors which we fail altogether to observe. But neither fretting nor fuming will alter the fact that the mental impression of having discovered a word or phrase to be *wrong* is in itself sufficient to throw higher individuals than printers' readers off their guard as to the depth to which that wrong extends. Thus it continually transpires that in the case of such double mis-spellings as "dissappointed" or "immaginery" we are extremely likely to mark one of the two letters and not notice the other till that one has been rectified by altering the type. But there was no altering the type in the case of the ancient codices, so I beg to offer this as a general caution in regard to passages which appear to have been only partially set to rights.

7. *Confusion of Separate Words*.—This habit has comparatively little to do with modern printing, though I may mention having lately noticed the words "of four" instead of "of one," evidently through the *f* having been so written that it was made to do duty with the following word also. A like illustration is notified to me by the Editor, in which his own words "they conceive" came back from the printer "they *can* conceive" (the *con* having doubtless been written slightly disjoined). But in the Greek codices, where there was absolutely no separating of words, this has become a most serious matter—so well recognized as a fact that I need only make a remark or two as to its application. It frequently displays itself in exactly such cases as the former of the two just cited—a final or initial letter, which chances to be applicable in both capacities, becoming a source of confusion as to whether it was originally single or double, as in the well-known instances *Καθαρναούμ ἡ* or *μή*, and *μηδέν* or *μηδένα ἀπελπίζοντες* (Luke x. 15 and

vi. 35). I think it will be generally conceded that when a letter is really written doubly, as in **KAΦAPNAOYMMH**, there is a strikingness about it which renders it extremely improbable for a copyist to mistake it for a single one, though I grant that, after reading it correctly, he still *might* so cut it down in writing; while in the other case, as he would not give a thought to the question of single or double at all, it would be exceedingly easy for him, especially if he paused after the first word, to connect the letter in question with both. Thus *à priori* reasoning tends rather to support the Received Text in both these cases, and just so with the *πορεύεσθαι ὡς* or *ἕως* of Acts xvii. 14, where itacism probably caused the words to be written **ΠΟΡΕΥΕCΘΕΩC**. But we cannot make so sure in cases like the *second* of the two English ones above—for instance, in such a reading as the *ἐγὼ δὲ ᾧδε* (of D R and, with a transposition, B N) in Luke xv. 17—as the repetition of *three* letters is a totally different phenomenon from the doubling of *one*, not possessing any approach to the same certainty of being perceived at a single glance. Instead, therefore, of assuming, as Dean Burgon does, that **ΕΓΩΔΕΩΔΕ** is a “transparent error,” simply because the Received Text happens to be without the *ᾧδε*, it would have been just as reasonable to assert—as he would probably allow that he would himself have done had but the parties been reversed—that the *omission* of this word was a transparent case of *homœotel*. The parties *are* reversed, as it happens, in Acts i. 19, and there accordingly he cites as one of the glaringly corrupt readings of B and N the omission in τῇ [*ἰδίᾳ*] *διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν*, whereas the last stroke of the H in τῇ with the first three letters of *διαλέκτῳ* will account for the *ἰδίᾳ* at once. Moral—Refrain from dogmatising in regard to either passage.

8. *Corrections in Wrong Places*.—This heading introduces us to what is probably the most subtle and ultimately the most mischief-fraught of all the seductive influences in the

printing-office. I do not mean the altering of a wrong *letter* in the same word, for, frequent as that is, it can hardly fail to be detected at once. What I refer to is the perhaps yet commoner circumstance when, having some word to insert or to alter, the compositor is misled by one or other of the phenomena of homœotopy into performing the operation in the wrong place (*e.g.* I have just had an instance of an entire line being taken out in place of another which was seven lines lower down). It will readily be perceived that if an error of this kind is made after the proof has received its final reading, it is often almost a matter of chance as to whether it is perceived at all; the reader upon revising sees that the correction has not been made in the proper place, so he marks it there again, and it either may or may not occur to him to search all round and see whether it has been made in an improper one. And even in manuscripts such mistakes do happen—the writer or possessor having determined to make a certain alteration, and then writing it over the wrong word or line. Does not the double instance of a disputed *μου* towards the close of Hebrews x. proclaim itself to be a case in point? In ver. 34 we have in the Received Text *τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου*, while four verses further on A N read *ὁ δὲ δίκαιός μου*: so that it seems to me approximately certain that some early scribe at first omitted this latter *μου*, and then either he or some one after him saw reason to believe it correct and proceeded to make its insertion, but appended it by mistake to the very similar-looking word *δεσμοῖς* or *δεσμίοις* just above.

Again, many various readings have probably resulted from misunderstanding of the exact place at which a word written in the margin was to be taken into the text. John xiv. 10 seems to me a case of the kind, the Received Text reading *αὐτὸς ποιεῖ τὰ ἔργα*, while B D N omit *αὐτός* and give *μοιεῖ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ*. Now if the three undisputed words

happened to form a line, as is perhaps more than probable, then if αὐτός had been supplied in the margin near the end of that line, its insertion at that end (where it actually stands in LXX and in the Alexandrian Cyril), and then its slight alteration, make the problem accounted for at once. Further, there is the strong probability of marginal insertions having been sometimes taken for substitutions and *vice versâ*, as alluded to under the reading αἰνοῦντες καὶ εὐλογοῦντες in my first Article (II. 2). I cannot but think that the double doubt in Mark v. 36, Ἰησοῦς εὐθέως παρακούσας, is due to this misapprehension, for though εὐθέως and the prefix παρ- are in no way substitutes the one for the other, we find A C and the Received Text inserting *only the former*, and B L Δ N *only the latter* (no single manuscript containing both, and D alone containing neither).

I would add that in printing this mishap is not absolutely confined to the process of correcting, for I have lately had an instance of a compositor setting up the words "its true meaning," when he had obtained the word "true" through his eye wandering three lines lower down, and his mind then associating the words from the mere readiness with which they lent themselves to the process. And by just the same mode, may I not suggest, the scribe of the archetype of B D wrote ἐβδομήκοντα δύο in Luke x. 1, through catching sight of ἀνὰ δύο in the same verse, and then combining the two numerals from mechanical familiarity with the traditional number of the Septuagint translators?

—CONSECUTIVE ILLUSTRATIONS OF II. AND III.—To bring out more forcibly the bearing of the preceding observations, and the extent to which printers' errors actually occur, I have gone through a series of recent proofs for the concluding volume of a well-known biographical work, and marked for my own purpose all the errors, more than mere "literals," which were not owing to real indistinctness of manuscript. After rejecting, on the ground of inferior

intelligence, the work of one of the men, I had left me a good sixty pages of royal octavo double-columned small type, set by twelve compositors all thoroughly up to their work. After summing up the results I found that the *substitutions* (of single words or terminations) amounted to 101 instances; the *omissions* to 98, comprising 256 words ($4\frac{1}{2}$ to a page); the *doubles* to 14 instances, of 30 words; and the *insertions* to 8 instances, all of single words. Substitutions and omissions therefore occurred in all but exactly the same number of instances, but the latter were two and a half times as serious as the former, as considered by the number of words affected; whilst the *doubles* were but a seventh part as numerous as the omissions, and the insertions only a twelfth of their number and a thirty-second of their bulk—a point which I thus emphasize in connexion with my engagement in the previous Article to shew that the presence of doubling in a codex is presumptive proof of a much larger presence of the opposite vice. Taking up first the omissions I found that the most prolific cause of all appeared to be *non-essentiality to construction* (II. 3), in which ten out of the twelve men participated, committing between them no less than 34 instances comprising 60 words. Ten compositors also made omissions through *turning of lines* (II. 4), the collective instances being 20 and the words 29; while the analysis of *doubling* from the same cause brings out the lower numbers of four compositors, 6 instances, 10 words. As to *homæotel*, the best workmen are too alive to its dangers, and therefore it stands comparatively low down in the present list: five of the twelve men only were concerned, and the *omissions* were but 13, though comprising 98 words (5 of the instances being lengthy ones); while of *doubles* from this cause there was one out of the above five compositors, he in 1 instance repeating 6 words. From *homæoarchy* (II. 1. a) I find 4 *omissions* and 1 *double*—a single instance apiece by five

separate men, as to whom it is a singular fact that they are all different from the five who are noticed under homœotel. To these totals I have to add the following: *omissions*—of an *entire line*, 2 instances; from *mental homœotel* (II. 1. c), 1 instance; from mental influence of *following word* (II. 2), 3 instances; from trivial *oversight*, 16 instances (by seven men);—*substitutions*—by influence of *neighbouring words* (III. 2), probably 12 instances (by five men); by hasty *mis-reading* when the copy was really clear, 33 instances (by ten); by slight *mental confusion*, 27 instances (by seven);—and from the same cause 1 *double* and 5 *insertions* of little words not in the copy. There are 3 other instances, to be noticed presently, in which words were thus mentally supplied; but, as might naturally be expected, these cases of actual insertion have shewn themselves extremely few. I have in fact to set against them the circumstance that just the same number of compositors made *omissions* of striking words for which I can supply no imaginable explanation.

But this analysis, to serve its full purpose, must go into some details respecting the idiosyncrasies of the workmen; for the striking differences thereby exhibited, as to kind rather than degree, will, if very slightly studied, serve to explain the mystery, if mystery it be, of one of the early scribes having made numerous mistakes of one class while being comparatively pure from those of another. One of the twelve, then, has set three pages without being booked for anything more than the omission of 1 word at the turning of a line; another, setting three times that quantity, has 3 omissions from the same cause, 2 from homœotel, and 6 from non-essentiality, but is chiefly distinguished for trivial hasty substitutions, of which he makes no less than 11; a third, setting six pages, is notable the other way, having nearly everything right which he does set, but making 16 omissions from the three above causes, the 6 homœotels comprising 55 words; a fourth again, also

setting six pages, has not a single omission from homœotel and only 1 each from the other two sources, but leaves out 6 unimportant words from oversight and 2 highly important ones for which I can assign no cause—also making 8 substitutions from hasty misreading, and 9 from trivial mental changes (wrong particles, etc.); a fifth, a foreigner, who set eight pages, made 6 omissions from the above three causes, 5 substitutions from hasty misreading, and 6 wrong terminations affected by neighbouring words; whilst a sixth, with six pages, has no homœotel (though he once shews the mental effect of its influence by omitting “the dead” after “regarded”), but makes 3 omissions at turnings of lines and 7 from non-essentiality. This last however is particularly noticeable—as are the three before him in a less degree—for the singular mental changes which he makes; either he “takes in” more copy at a time than he can properly hold, or else he is of a volatile disposition and allows his mind to wander before he has put all his words into type. Thus for “direction” he prints “order,” for “unusual” “unlikely,” for “usually” “generally,” for “great” “vast,” and for “in” “during;” while, wandering more widely from the sense, he substitutes “army” for “empire,” “type” for “life,” and “connected” for “occupied.” In like manner he has made three mental *insertions*, converting “both friends and foes” into “both as friends and foes,” “questions of money” into “questions of *making* money,” and introducing “that” before a clause where it was not required, though it is quite possible that he thought it a clerical omission. He likewise makes two *transpositions* of words, neither of them affecting the sense, and actually the only ones which occurred in the course of the whole sixty pages. In a more recent proof he has, along with one transposition and three other insertions (“*very* good,” “*still* larger,” and “are to be found”), converted “cannot hold against truth” into “*will* not hold

good against 'the truth,' and twice within twelve lines substituted 'saints' for 'martyrs.' If the three compositors noticed before him, one substitutes "head" for "skull" and makes a couple of lines in which the construction is continued by the repetition a very common occurrence, by the way, e.g. "he found he had found he had divined the sense." Another for "sin-bearing" puts "sea-bearing," having apparently let the idea of "sea-bathing" get into his head at first and then returned to the copy; while with a similar watery confusion he has changed "transferred" into "transferry." The last of the three, the foreigner, set "more" for "longer," "voice" for "hymn," and "a likely portrait" for "a life-like portrait"—a capital example, by the bye, of a "harder" reading, such as, if it had occurred in some early manuscript, say of Chaucer, would have been certain to find champions to avow its vast superiority over the commonplace "life-like." How queer they would have felt, however, when they came to learn that it was only a slight confusion made by a Dutchman!

Herewith concludes the illustrative part of my suggestions, though some of a more venturesome character are yet to follow. One remark however must be here appended in reference to the extremely insignificant place filled in this paper by the item of TRANSPOSITION. It certainly is not quite so uncommon in printing as the allusion just above might be taken to imply, but quite as certainly it will still bear no proportion there to the position it occupies in the digesta of the Greek Testament. Some special explanation must therefore be sought in the latter case, and I believe we shall find it, in great measure, in—(1) the already mentioned confusion as to the place for taking in a marginal insertion, and (2) the far greater inexperience and even carelessness of the earliest transcribers. Of this second cause indeed I could even make a point, as affording presumptive proof that the primitive copyists were *bad enough for anything!*

ALFRED WATTS.

BALAAM: AN EXPOSITION AND A STUDY.

§ 3. *The Oracles* (Numbers xxii. 36-xxiv. 25).

DISHEARTENED and exasperated by the strain of Balaam's Second Oracle, the king of Moab, for a time at least, abandoned all hope of inducing him to curse Israel, and sought only to withhold him from blessing them. But the purpose which originally moved him to send for the Prophet lay too near his heart to be easily relinquished. Hence he soon rallies and nerves himself for a final effort. He cannot altogether shake off his dejection, however; we can still detect some trace of it in the words in which he invites Balaam to a third and last trial of his skill. He no longer maintains the confident and sanguine tone of his former request, "Come with me to another place, and curse me them from thence"; but, conscious of the risk he runs, he speaks with a certain hesitation and distrust: "Come, I will bring thee to another place; *peradventure it may please God* that from thence thou shouldest curse me them."

Still he will leave no chance untried. He travels northward from Pisgah to another peak of the Abarim range, and conducts Balaam to another sacred place, the very name of which (Peor) shews that it was dedicated to Baal-peor, the most shamelessly sensual but best-beloved of the gods of Moab. Perchance the conditions may here prove more favourable, or the god more potent. At least one of the conditions is wholly reversed. For whereas heretofore Balak had carefully led the Prophet to points of view from which he could see only a small part of the

Hebrew camp, lest he should be cowed by their number, he now conducts him to a point from which he obtains an uninterrupted view of the whole vast host, "encamped according to their tribes" (Chap. xxiv. 2), in the valley or plain below,—hoping, I suppose, that he may take them all in in one comprehensive and withering glance.

Here, then, in this thrice-sacred mountain grove, new altars are built, new sacrifices offered. But the new scene is so far from yielding new omens that Balaam does not so much as go out to some bare spot to look for them. He had learned the lesson that "God is not a man that he should lie, nor a son of man that he should repent." And hence he no longer "as at other times" goes out "to seek for auguries," but remains beside the king, gazing steadfastly down on the wonderful and suggestive scene beneath him, and allowing that wonderful spectacle to make its own impression on his mind, being inwardly assured that it is the will of God that he should bless the people whose goodly tents in fair array attract his eye, and inwardly resolute that he will not curse them come what may. How, indeed, should he trust in auguries to whom, as we learn from his Second Oracle, it had been revealed that one great secret of the strength and righteousness of the Hebrew host lay in the fact that "there was no augury in Jacob, nor any divination in Israel, but in due time it is told them what God doeth;" who had learned, therefore, to distrust his own art, and to admit that to wait on God with simple child-like confidence until it is his good pleasure to disclose his will is a far nobler and higher achievement than to anticipate what to-morrow may bring forth? God *had* disclosed that will to him, his will to bless the sons of Abraham and not to curse them; and on this disclosure Balaam is resolved to act, let him lose what he may by his fidelity to the Divine command.

And verily he had his reward. For now we are told,

not simply that "God met him and put a word into his mouth," but that "the Spirit of God *came upon him*" with overmastering force, flinging him to the earth indeed, but lifting him into an ecstasy in which he looked with open and illuminated eyes through the years to be, and saw what they would bring forth.

Under this mighty inspiration, he "takes up his parable," *i.e.* his thoughts rise into poetic form, and his voice breaks into song as he delivers his Third Oracle (Chap. xxiv. 3-9).

Thus sayeth Balaam, the son of Beor,
And thus sayeth the man whose eyes are open;
Thus sayeth he who heareth the words of God,
He who seeth the vision of the Almighty,
Prostrate, but with opened eyes:
How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob,
Thy tabernacles, O Israel!
As valleys that are spread out,
As gardens by the river's side,
As aloes which the Lord hath planted,
As cedars beside the waters!
Water shall stream from his buckets,
And his seed be by many waters;
And his king shall be higher than Agag,
And his kingdom shall be exalted.
God brought him forth out of Egypt:
He hath the bison's strength:
He shall eat up the nations that are round about him,
And shall suck their bones,
And break their loins in pieces.
He croucheth, he lieth down like a lion,
And like a lioness, who shall rouse him up?
Blessed are they that bless thee,
And cursed are they that curse thee.

There are some repetitions here which have a double worth. For when we find in this Third Oracle, uttered in a prophetic rapture and under the pressure of a kind of Divine "possession," thoughts, words, figures which we have already met with in the Second Oracle, for which no such absolute inspiration is claimed, we cannot but feel

that, even under the extremest pressure, "the spirit of the prophet is subject to the prophet;" that even when, to use the phrase of Novalis, he is "a God-intoxicated man," yet in the full torrent, tempest, and whirlwind of the prophetic frenzy, he remains *himself* and in full possession of himself; his powers exalted, not obliterated; enlarged in volume and scope, yet radically unchanged. And when we mark what these repetitions are,—how he still asserts that it was God who brought Israel up out of Egypt, still likens their strength to that of the bison or buffalo, still compares them to the lion and lioness crouching over their prey, whom none dares to challenge or provoke, still insists, therefore, that Balak would simply court his own destruction were he to attack them, we cannot fail to be impressed with the fearless honesty with which Balaam delivers the burden of the Lord, let the King cajole or threaten as he will. No message can be more unwelcome to himself, or more fatal to Balak's hopes, than that with which he is charged; but, nevertheless, he is true to God, and true to man, and speaks only the word which was given him to speak.

This prophetic trance, or rapture, may have been either a new, or more probably a rare, experience for Balaam; and hence he describes it with much emphasis in Chapter xxiv. verses 3 and 4, repeating his description, with some slight variations, in Verses 15 and 16. From this description we learn that he had sought to acquire knowledge, and above all knowledge of the will of God and of the principles on which that high Will rules the affairs and destinies of men, not by arts of divination alone, not only by studying omens and auguries and interpreting them according to the approved rules of his art, but also by patient brooding meditation on the ways of God with men. We learn that by chastening himself from vulgar aims and animal desires, which were very strong in him, he

had sought to attain the pure heart without which no man can see the Lord, to make his inward ear sensitive to "words of God" which others could not hear, to open his inward eye to the spiritual significance of events, so that he might see "visions from the Almighty" which others could not see; and that, at times, when he had thus prepared himself to receive the heavenly Guest, the Spirit of God fell upon him with a force which, if it flung him to the earth, so strangely energized and elevated his spiritual faculties and powers that, lying prostrate but with opened eyes, all the horizons of thought grew luminous with a more than mortal light, and shot out far and wide beyond their usual scope, so that he could look quite through the shows of things to the sacred realities behind them, and even penetrate the future and discern the things that must shortly come to pass. It was this noble bent and gift of his spirit which made the man no vulgar soothsayer merely, but a genuine prophet, and which gave him his mastery over the spirits of his fellows.

It is in this high mood, too, that he now looks down on the Hebrew host, and, as if carried away by the imposing aspect of their vast yet orderly camp, addresses himself directly to them, and exclaims, "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel!" He instantly recovers himself, however; for it is not the children of Israel, but the king and princes of Moab to whom he has to speak; and, for their instruction and warning, he proceeds to depict the blessedness and the irresistible might of the race they would have him curse.

The dominant figure in which his conception of their happy estate is conveyed is one which would commend itself to every Oriental mind; for to the Oriental no emblem carries such a sense of wealth and felicity as an abundance of water. And it is curious to note how Balaam harps on this emblem with an iteration which would have been

unnatural in a Western poet, and which, in any case, an English poet would have sought to avoid. He compares them to "*gardens by the river's side*;" to "*cedars beside the waters*;" to a man bearing two buckets so full and overfull that the "*water streams*" from them as he moves. And, as if all this were not enough, he declares that the seed, *i.e.* the posterity, of Israel shall grow up "*beside many waters*." By this insistence on a symbol so grateful and suggestive to an Eastern mind, he doubtless sought to convey, and succeeded in conveying to his hearers, a full conception of the Divine favour for Israel, and made them feel that under the blessing of God his people were to enjoy the richest benedictions, the most lavish wealth and prosperity, which heart of man could conceive. No doubt, too, he took this image, as Dr. Kalisch suggests, from the scene on which he looked down. For the land beyond the Jordan, which Israel was to possess, was a goodly and delightful land mainly because it was "a land of brooks, a land of fountains and lakes that sprang out of valleys and hills," a land that constantly "drank water from the rain of heaven." But this image, derived from the physical features of Palestine, the land to which Israel was going up, is complicated apparently by reminiscences of Babylonia, the land from which Balaam had come. "Valleys that widened out" were before his eye as he stood on Peor; but when he proceeds to compare Israel to "*gardens by the river's side*," his thoughts probably revert to the famous artificial gardens on the banks of the Euphrates which were reckoned among the wonders of the ancient world. So, again, when he declares, "His seed shall be by many waters," he may refer to the innumerable brooks and streamlets of the goodly land; but when he compares the ideal Israel to a man bearing streaming buckets, he obviously alludes to a mode of irrigation which obtained in his Mesopotamian home, where he must often have seen the

weary peasants staggering up from the river with the yoke of buckets which they were about to pour on the thirsty fields.

Under these rural and pacific figures, then, the Prophet depicts the coming wealth and felicity of the people whom the Lord had blessed. But he is careful to point out¹ that the wealth and happiness of Israel are not to be "purchased by an inglorious obscurity." They are to be "coupled with the highest political power and splendour." They are to be "the fruit of famous wars and brilliant victories." The nation which has the strength of the buffalo is to use it like a buffalo—to "eat up the nations that are round about it, to suck their bones and break their loins in pieces." Fierce and valiant as the lion, they are to hunt down their prey, and to drink the blood of the slain, till none shall dare to rouse them up. By their valour and their wealth they are to build up a kingdom exalted above the other kingdoms of the earth, and—adds the Prophet in a singular phrase which demands a word of explanation—to secure a king "higher than Agag."

As we read the Oracle, this name, "Agag," checks one curiously. It seems wholly out of place, and meaningless, and only breaks up the flow and rush of the prophetic strain. Nevertheless we find it quite in place, and full of meaning, so soon as we remember that Agag was the dynastic name of the kings of Amalek, just as Pharaoh was the name of an Egyptian dynasty, and corresponds to such English dynastic names as Plantagenet, Tudor, Stuart, Guelph. For Amalek was the fighting and victorious clan of the Desert. It had recently conquered most of the adjacent clans and kingdoms. It was the first to meet and make war against the Israelites as they approached the end of their long pilgrimage. When Moses defeated Amalek, all the clans of Syria—Edomites, Moabites, Midianites,

¹ Dr. Kalisch *in loco*.

Canaanites—were amazed, and read their own doom in that of this warlike race. So that when Balaam predicts for Israel a king “higher than Agag,” what he would be understood to mean was that this happy and wealthy race is to take a higher position than even that which Amalek had held, and to exercise a wider sovereignty. None will be able to stand before them. One by one they will all be subdued, and compelled to submit to the king of Israel as their suzerain or overlord.

There may be, and probably is, another allusion in this dynastic name. For the word *Agag*, like the English name Hugh, means “high.” And it would be quite in accordance with the manner and spirit of Hebrew poetry to introduce even into its loftiest strains a pun upon this name, and to play with the meaning of the word in a double sense. In all probability, therefore, besides alluding to the historic position of Amalek, Balaam intended an allusion to the literal significance of the word “Agag,” and meant to convey that the king of Israel would be higher even than the king whose hereditary name was *High*—“higher than High;” for it is one of the characteristic traits of Hebrew poetry to relieve its most solemn utterances with a playful touch of this kind, and to bring in a pun which, however vulgar and poor it may sound to us, seemed vastly witty and suggestive to the simplicity of the ancient Eastern world.

In closing his Oracle the Prophet once more addresses himself directly to the Hebrew host: “Blessed are they that bless thee, and cursed they that curse thee.” But though he speaks as to Israel, his words were doubtless meant for Balak and his princes,—meant to warn them against seeking some more treacherous and accommodating diviner than himself, who, for a sufficient reward, would utter the curse against Israel which *he* refused to utter. Such a curse would only “come home to roost.” If Balak

were wise, he would relinquish his vain attempt against the people whom the Lord had blessed, and, by allying himself with them, win some share in their prosperity and peace.

The whole of the Third Oracle is now before us ; and if we look back and consider it as a whole, there is one question which can hardly fail to occur to us. Balaam was, as we have seen, a genuine prophet, and faithfully delivered the message which God put into his mouth. And yet, after all, were his predictions fulfilled, did his words come true? *When* did the Hebrew nation enjoy that lavish prosperity and abundance, or achieve the vast military success which he foretold for them? Not certainly for some four or five hundred years after Balaam had gone to his own place. Under the Judges Israel was divided, plundered, enslaved, and though in the closing years of David's reign and the opening years of the reign of Solomon it touched the top of happy prosperous hours, and achieved a military predominance over all the adjacent kingdoms, yet this period of marvellous wealth and power formed but a brief episode in its history, an episode quite out of tune with the general strain of its annals, and was succeeded by ages of discord, strife, poverty, captivity, and subjection. Take their history as a whole, and it is impossible to affirm that Balaam's suggestive emblems portray and forecast it, impossible to assert that their buckets habitually streamed with the fair sweet waters of abundance, or that they shewed either a strength like that of the buffalo, eating up the nations round about them, or the fierce victorious courage of the lion and the lioness when they hunt or when they crouch over and defend their prey. Yet Balaam was inspired to use these emblems ; it was the Spirit of God that came upon him and moved him to utter predictions which no candid reader of the Hebrew story can confidently

affirm to have been fulfilled in the exact literal sense in which they were uttered and understood.

What shall we say to these things, then? Shall we shuffle and equivocate, and say that Balaam's words had a sufficient fulfilment in the brief period of national glory under David and Solomon, when it is plain that the Prophet intended them to apply to and characterize the whole career of Israel, or that, if he had any special period in his eye, it must have been the immediate future? Or must we sorrowfully admit that God was not as good as his word, and only kept his promise to the ear, to break it to the hope?

Before we impale ourselves on either horn of that dismal dilemma, let us at least ask whether it is not our theory of Inspiration, our notion of what really made a man a prophet, which is at fault. In my judgment it is gravely at fault if it has taught us to insist on infallibility as an invariable adjunct of inspiration, or to find the chief function of the prophet in his ability to predict the future, to trace and interpret the shadows which coming events cast before them. That which really constitutes a man a prophet is not so much *foresight* as *insight*—insight into the ways of God with men. Dr. Robertson Smith goes so far as to say¹ that "the possession of a single true thought about Jehovah, not derived from current religious teaching, but springing up in the soul as a word from Jehovah Himself, is enough to constitute a prophet, and lay on him the duty of speaking to Israel what he has learned from Israel's God." And all who have studied the subject admit, I believe, so much as this,—that the chief function of the prophet is to grasp the great moral principles on which God governs the world, and so to master them as to be able to apply them to the special conditions of men and of races of men. No doubt a profound insight into these principles involves some degree of foresight, and enables a man to predict what the issue of a

¹ "The Prophets of Israel," p. 182.

certain course of action must be,—just as some of us, simply because we believe in the moral government of the world, foretold, even when the third Napoleon seemed to be the greatest political force in Europe, that his empire must speedily crumble into dust; just as we now predict that the vast and despotic military and bureaucratic systems which are pressing the very life out of many of the nations of the Continent must soon be broken up, or that Ireland will never be well governed until Irishmen have learned to govern themselves. But this foresight springs from insight, and rests upon it. And many a prophet has laid a firm grasp on the moral principles of the Divine Government, and has been able to say without doubt or hesitation that, if men pursue a certain course, they must infallibly reach a certain end, who yet has not been able to read with perfect accuracy what the moral conditions of men were, or to foresee the moral changes through which they would pass. Fallible and mistaken in these inferior points a man may be, and yet remain a most true prophet if only he has mastered the moral principles by which the world is ruled, and can see that obedience to them must lead to prosperity and peace, while disobedience inevitably entails adversity and strife.

There is an illustration of this point in the Bible which seems to have been “written large” in order that we might not fail to mark the limits of the prophetic power. Jonah’s famous prediction, “Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown:” was *that* fulfilled or was it *not* fulfilled? The message undoubtedly came from God; and God took some pains, it has been commonly thought, to ensure its faithful delivery. Jonah disliked both his mission, and the upshot of his mission; but he was compelled to go upon it. Did God, then, keep the word He spoke by the reluctant lips of Jonah, or did He not keep it? Those who think, as Jonah seems to have thought, that prediction is

the chief work of a prophet, and that his crowning honour is to have his prediction verified in every jot and tittle, must of course admit that, on this occasion at least, God did shew Himself to be like a man who lies or a son of man who repents. But for us, who believe that the main function of the prophet is to declare the moral principles which determine the fate of men and nations, Jonah's insight into these principles was far more gloriously vindicated, and the word of God was far more profoundly fulfilled, in the salvation of Nineveh than it would have been in its destruction. What Jonah saw was that it is righteousness—not wealth, not culture even, nor military organization—which redeems and exalts a nation, while wickedness dooms and destroys it. And when he had taught that great moral principle to a vast and populous city, so taught it that all the inhabitants of that city “turned every one from his evil way,” repenting of and renouncing the wickedness which was destroying him, was not his principle verified, his mission vindicated, to the uttermost? was not God the more abundantly glorified? did not the Prophet, if only he could have seen it, win a veritable and transcendent victory?

In like manner Balaam had grasped the principle that a righteous life infallibly conducts men to the true prosperity and peace. It is this principle, this conviction, which underlies the glowing imagery of his Oracles and gives them force. Was it not a true principle, a principle on which we see God acting along the whole course of human history? In grasping and fearlessly announcing this principle, which the superficial current of events so often seems to contradict, so often conceals therefore from the carnal and inobservant eye, he proved himself to be a genuine prophet, a man really taught and inspired of God. In applying this principle, however, he may, since inspiration does not necessarily carry infallibility with it,

have fallen into errors of detail. It may have been—I think it was—the ideal, not the actual, Israel which he saw in his visions from the Almighty, for it was on this ideal Israel that most of the prophets fixed their eyes. And hence he describes them as a people dwelling apart from other nations in an unapproachable, an unassailable, sanctity, obeying purer laws, pursuing higher aims, and even affirms that there is no distress in Israel because *no iniquity* is to be descried in Jacob. In so far as the actual Israel rose toward this fair and blameless ideal, they did enjoy the very blessings of abundance, victory, peace, which Balaam so lavishly promised them, as every page of their subsequent history testifies; while in so far as they fell away from this ideal, blended with the nations from whom they ought to have dwelt apart, fell back on the idolatries of their Syrian fathers or gave place to the current iniquities of their age and of neighbouring races, they lost the blessings promised to righteousness, and reaped the distress and impotence of which wickedness is the natural root.

If, then, it be the main function of the prophet to grasp and apply great moral principles, we may say with perfect honesty and candour that Balaam's oracles were more truly and profoundly verified than if every letter of his forecasts had come true. The chronicles of Israel are but an expanded commentary on the ethical principles which he laid down,—as, indeed, are the chronicles of every nation if only we had wit and grace to read them aright, or even the history of every individual man. For we must not fail to observe that in this canon of interpretation, which is a key to all the prophecies of Holy Writ, we have also the key to the mysteries of our individual experience and fate. Whether in the story of a man or of a race, Righteousness is the true redeeming and uplifting power; Unrighteousness the secret of all miseries, adversities, and distresses. And

assumed to be no longer tenable—to have perished in the scientific wave which has overrun modern thought.

All this, if deplorable, is intelligible and need not produce confusion. But the remarkable thing is that our age, in parting with the old basis of religion, has not parted with religion, or what it wishes to call religion. In denying the metaphysical basis on which "God," in the historical sense, rests, it declines to part either with the name, or with "the thing" according to its own understanding. "God" is no longer a Supernatural Will. Supernaturalism is inconceivable and unverifiable. But then "there is no necessary connexion between *theology* and supernaturalism. It is quite possible to believe in a God, and even a *personal* God, of whom Nature is the complete and only manifestation."¹ The customary view of "personality" has been that it implied a will; in other words, that it was a moral quality, which can only be conceived as the attribute of a free moral agent. But Nature, it seems, or "the separate phenomena of the universe," may be conceived *personally*. In the early Greek mythology natural phenomena were so conceived. The generative idea of Deity then was not the cause of a thing, but the *unity* of it. "No one has ever supposed that the Greeks regarded Poseidon as the *cause* of the sea. Athena may have been suggested to them by the sky, but she is not the *cause* of the sky." These names of Deity represented certain unities of nature. And why may not "God" now be used to denote the unity of nature, rather than the supernatural *cause* of it. "If we will look at things and not merely at words we shall soon see that the scientific man has a theology and a God, a most impressive theology, and a most awful and glorious God. I say that man believes in a God who feels himself in the presence of a Power which is not himself and is immeasurably above himself, a Power in the contemplation

¹ *Nat. Religion*, p. 41.

of which he is absorbed, in the knowledge of which he finds safety and happiness. And such now is Nature to the scientific man."

We are not now concerned with these views otherwise than in their bearing on what is usually called theology, and the use of theological terms. We wish to speak with all respect of a writer in so many ways deserving of respect as the author of "Natural Religion" and "Ecce Homo." His words we know have awakened responsive echo in earnest hearts. They are the words of one who is at least himself earnest, and eager to guide the religious aspirations of an age which is wandering in many perplexed paths. But with all respect for the writer, both our reason and our feelings are greatly tried by such passages as the above. What possible use can it serve to carry back the meaning of "God" to a nature-basis? Everybody knows that the Greek mythology, like every other ancient form of religion, rested so far on natural personification. The forces of nature, or varieties of these forces, were deified by the early imagination of humanity groping after a divine meaning in the "separate phenomena of the universe." But surely also it was no mere accident that religious thought did not and could not remain at this stage—that Reason seeking always for a higher unity of universal phenomena, could not rest in any Poseidon or Athena, or Zeus, or even in the Jehovah of earlier Hebraism—but was driven onwards with the growth of spiritual reason to conceive of the Divine as moral and spiritual rather than natural—as an eternal and spiritual Life underlying all other life. The "I AM that I AM" of Moses, the "High and Lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy" of Isaiah, the "Father in Heaven" of Christ and the Christian church, those are surely not only higher but truer conceptions than any mere nature-conceptions of earlier religion. And the name of God having grown into this larger meaning—

answering not merely to the natural fears, but to the moral aspirations of humanity—cannot be wilfully moved back to a lower stage of thought. For more than two thousand years “God” has meant to the higher intelligence of humanity everywhere, a Moral Personality—a Divine Reason and Will distinct from, and independent of, the cosmos of natural forces—and it is surely playing with words to alter the meaning and yet retain the name. It may be true that the idea of God is easily degraded, and that many Christians have degraded it “by childish and little-minded teaching.” To conceive of God as “the head of the church interest, as a sort of clergyman” may not be very elevated or scientific, but there is all the difference in the world between any degradation of the Divine idea which springs out of the necessary limitations of the common mind, and a philosophical attempt to take the idea down again from the moral height to which it has ascended. It is confessed by the author that “such a God” as Nature is far from satisfactory; then why reclaim the name for a stage of the idea which humanity has long outgrown? Why say that “the average scientific man worships just at present a more awful and as it were a greater Deity than the average Christian”? The average Christian, even if his comprehension be so feeble that he looks upon “God” as a sort of “superior clergyman,” does not yet empty the Divine idea of all moral meaning. His God may be a very imperfect and poor image of the great Ideal, but it is after all more than an ideal of mere force. It is more than the mere infinity of astronomical or geological millenniums. It is not the “unspiritual God” of mere Nature or Circumstance. The God of the Christian is a God of the living and not of the dead. When our Lord defined God as “a Spirit,” He gave a meaning to the name with which it can never part. He fixed the idea unchangeably in the human consciousness. Anything lower

than this is not God, whatever it may be. "God is a Spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth" (St. John iv. 24). No unspiritual ideal can reasonably claim that name; "Religion" is not religion when what is so called does not rise into a spiritual sphere. Is there a spirit in man? Is there a spirit above man? Is there a sphere beyond Nature in the widest sense, "a universal self-consciousness, an absolute spiritual life," with whom our higher life is capable of converse and by whom it is being constantly disciplined? Such questions as these surely mirror the only religious problem worth considering.

We do not speak of this or that form of Christian faith, or of any so-called orthodox conception of Christianity rooted in a supernaturalism that clings to the letter of the Biblical narratives. There may certainly be a recognition of a living God, and there may be true religion, not confined within any such narrow bounds. But to speak of God and mean only Nature, even when Nature is made to include Humanity; to speak of "Religion" and mean only the admiration of beauty, or "the knowledge of the laws of the universe"—what are called "the Ideals of Art and Science"—this is to adopt a license of language and thought which can only lead to irretrievable confusion. It is to carry back the hands of the clock, and yet to speak with a voice which we had never known unless the clock had long since advanced. It is to ignore the progress of reason and yet use up its results. It is simply impossible to go back from the moral life that Christianity has poured into human thought, to strip thought bare of spiritual meaning as in the days of Paganism, and yet to use words that have mirrored for ages the higher association, and are unintelligible apart from it. "God" can never be aught but what Christianity has made the conception—the ideal implanted by Christian Thought in the human consciousness—even if Christianity

itself be rejected. True religion can never be less than a disciplinary communion of the human with the Divine Spirit, however the love of beauty or of knowledge may purge and test it. If we are to have nothing but Nature—nothing but the science which unfolds its laws and the art that moulds its beauty into form—let us know what we are about. Let us not cheat ourselves with phantoms of God and religion, when we have emptied heaven of all reality and left nothing anywhere but the phantasmal reflection of earth. We may still indeed have a higher life. We may give ourselves to ideal emotion or ideal knowledge. We may strive against *Conventionalism* or *Secularity*, which with our author are the only real enemies of religion. Earth itself may be “apparelled in celestial light” to our fresh and aspiring gaze; and as we put away from us lower desires and base habits, it may be possible for us to say in a metaphor, “What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?” (*Natural Religion*, p. 120). But *metaphor* in such a case will be the only expression of our spiritual life. Our spiritual being as a fact will be gone; soul will be no more. We may speak of it euphemistically, but what nobody believes to exist substantively will not long survive poetically. There will be no spiritual power to sustain us in our higher moments, or raise us in our lower moods. All ideal must be born from within. Revelation will be a dream. Redemption an imagination. All the characteristic expressions of religion must lose real meaning.

When heaven becomes a fiction, and the idea of a Supernatural Sphere has entirely vanished, it may be right to seek for a higher ideal, and to follow such an ideal if we can find it. But we confess that it seems to us deluding, if not cruel, to use the old terms steeped in supernaturalism—all whose historical meaning is supernatural—to denote things which are quite different. To speak of Theism and

Theology in connexion with Nature and what our author means by Natural Religion, involves in fact a gross philosophical as well as religious confusion. Theism has long denoted, in contradistinction to Pantheism on the one hand, and Naturalism on the other, the doctrine of a Divine Existence distinct from and independent of Nature—not merely physical but human nature. The Theist is definitively one who believes in a Personal Being above Nature, and by whom everything natural exists. The study of Nature may be “a part of the study of God,” in the sense that Nature is a revelation or manifestation of Divine activity, but in no intelligible sense is it true “that he who believes only in Nature is a Theist and has a theology.” The very reverse is true. He who believes *only* in Nature is, according to all the fair meaning of language, a non-Theist and can have no theology, for the simple reason that he recognizes by the very hypothesis no Divine reality apart from Nature. If there be no activity or Power behind all the play of natural forces, then there is no *Theos*, and how then can there be either *Theism* or *Theology*. Men may be often nearer each other in thought than they fancy, and no doubt they readily “slide into the most contemptible logomachies.” But nothing can promote logomachy more than a downright confusion of ideas, and no possible good can come from calling ourselves “Theists,” and claiming to have a “Theology,” when we have discarded from all our thoughts the spiritual conceptions out of which the one and the other have sprung from the earliest ages.

It is, we confess, a surprise to us that a student, not of physical science, but of human history—of the moral forces which have guided the political, social, and religious advancement of mankind—should profess to upset the old ideals of Religion and God, ideals gained by man after many upward struggles, and which, more than any others, have inspired his higher life and consecrated every phase of his

progressive civilization. The Christian ideal is spiritual throughout. It is the ideal of a "kingdom of Heaven" transcending all natural life and glorifying it. It is no picture or imagination; it is a living reality touching the heart with purifying fire. Christian civilization is the out-growth of Faith, and "Faith is the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen." Nothing can be less like Faith than any mere artistic or intellectual ideal. An intense spirituality is the root of the one, the other has its home in the region of sense and of knowledge. And you cannot measure the one by the other, or speak of the one in the terms of the other. It is a sad ending for Humanity if it has to turn back from the upper air of Faith and breathe only the life of Nature. If "soul" is to become a mere pseudonym for nervous force, and man is not "different generically from the brutes;" if we have to exchange ideas of Divine and human personality for ideas of the unity of Nature, or lessons in science, then human history seems something like a cheat. It has been playing with phantoms instead of working out spiritual ideals. It has been marching to the music of ghosts, and not to the voices of Prophets and Apostles. The march may not cease to be heroic, but the heroism is pitiful rather than tragic. It is without moral issue, and therefore without moral grandeur or interest.

JOHN TULLOCH.

THE EPISTLE TO TITUS.

The Salutation (Chapter i. 1-4).

FROM the sketch given in my former Paper of the Cretan Church and of St. Paul's relations to it, it is easy to understand how his Letter should lay emphasis upon these two points : First, the moral tendency of all sound Christian teaching ; and, second, the importance to the Church, from this point of view, of competent and well-chosen pastors. Both of these topics receive ample illustration as the writer proceeds with his task. But the former of them—the moral influence of the Gospel—being by much the more vital of the two, is present to the writer's mind, from the moment he takes pen in hand, with such prominence that it colours even his opening salutation.

St. Paul's salutations to his correspondents are never mere phrases of formal courtesy, like the customary opening words of other letter-writers. On his lips, as it befitted a messenger of Christ, the barren good wishes of a man of the world deepened into a prayer for such rich and everlasting benefits as accompany salvation. Every one of his salutations, therefore, invokes upon his correspondents the two characteristic blessings of the Gospel ; " grace " and " peace." Both words recall the terms of courtesy in which the Greek and the Hebrew respectively were then accustomed to salute their friends. The " greeting " (*χαίρειν*) of a Greek gentleman,¹ reappeared in St. Paul's " grace " (*χάρις*), which denotes the favour of the Heavenly Father restored to every believer through his Son. The conventional " peace be unto you " of his Hebrew fellow-countrymen (still surviving wherever Semitic tongues are spoken) is ennobled on Paul's page into that deeper " peace " which had been his Master's legacy—the peace

¹ Compare Acts xxiii. 26.

of reconciliation to God and of parental favour to which Jesus has restored us. Thus has the "water" of the world's politeness been turned into strong sweet "wine" of the kingdom, by the power of Christian love. In the other two Epistles of this period, and in them alone, the Apostle has inserted between these two standing terms, "grace and peace," the additional word "mercy." From the Letters to Timothy, it very early crept, without (as it seems) adequate authority, into the text of Titus also. But its undoubted occurrence in the other two deserves to be noted as perhaps one sign among many how, as age drew on, the heart of St. Paul rested more than ever upon the Gospel as good news for the guilty—a revelation of mercy toward the "chief of sinners."

After the period at which attacks began to be openly made upon the apostolic authority, it became a custom with Paul to insist in the headings to his letters upon the fact that he was (as he usually put it) "an apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God."¹ With some variations of expression he still continues to do so in these latest Epistles, although that bitter controversy was now over. He is "God's bondsman"; and more than that, he is a "messenger of Christ Jesus." But not content with saying this, he proceeds to do what he had not done since he dictated, some eight years before, in the heat of conflict, those two polemical letters to the Roman and Galatian Churches; namely, to develope at length the design and character of his apostolic commission. This parenthetical explanation probably betrays some disinclination on the part of Jewish heretics at Crete to recognize his full authority; although in more frequented parts of the Church it was by this time generally acknowledged. At all events

¹ Wanting in the Thessalonian Epistles; very full in Romans and Galatians; brief (as above) in 1 and 2 Corinthians, Ephesians, and Colossians, 1 and 2 Timothy.

his words bear, as we might expect, on the needs of the Cretans, the errors of their teachers, and the purpose of the Epistle : and they run somewhat thus :—

“ An apostle of Jesus Christ—with a view to produce faith in God’s elect ones and full knowledge of that truth which tends to godliness, based upon the hope of eternal life which God (who cannot lie) promised before eternal times ; but He manifested at the fit season his word, in the proclamation with which I was entrusted by the command of our Saviour God.”

Surely in every way a noteworthy utterance from the aged Paul ; and one which we cannot readily suppose to have proceeded from any pen but his own. Let us examine its contents a little.

The first thing we notice is that the apostolate, as Paul himself conceived it, had two principal ends in view. It aimed first at bringing the elect to faith : this gave it a missionary character, and explained the wandering life led by the Apostle. It aimed, next, at bringing believers to a full knowledge of revealed truth : this made it an office at the same time of pastoral supervision, and accounts for the literary activity of the Apostles. The former of these objects does not come into direct consideration here. Only it is worth remark in passing how carefully guarded is the language which St. Paul employs to describe his aims as a missionary evangelist. Even in his more ardent and sanguine youth, St. Paul had never deceived himself into any expectation that all men would be converted.¹ He felt that he was labouring for the sake of a chosen company whom God foreknew ; pleased if by all means he succeeded in saving some ; and well knowing at the same time that if his Gospel was hidden, it was hidden from them that were lost. The awful alternative to salvation, the shadow which rests upon those who reject Christ, was

¹ See 2 Thess. iii. 2, and indeed 1 and 2 Thess. *passim*.

never far from his earnest heart ; yet it was never suffered so to oppress him as to paralyze hope or quench his joy over the few chosen souls whom God gave him for "a crown of glorying."

But the calling of men everywhere out of darkness into the marvellous light of Christ, although it was a passion with this propagandist and missionary, did not obscure for a moment his other function, to build up the saints upon the foundation of their most holy faith. He was no less eager to add fresh graces to old Churches than to found new ones. The development of the saintly character in disciples, through their sober and patient growth in the understanding of revealed truth, was really the object of all Paul's epistolary labours. For he well knew that the Church of Jesus must soon cease to be an organ for the calling of sinners to saving faith, if she herself ceased to advance in holiness ; and that such advance is only possible through a fuller and yet fuller knowledge of the truth as it has been made known to us in Christ. Whoever may disparage a rich and ample theology, or count theological and exegetical study of secondary value to the preaching of the Gospel, these apostolic letter-writers never did so. Right study and right teaching of the full many-sided truth of Scripture, are the conditions of healthy progress in religious life. And it is the healthy progressive Church which ought to succeed best in widening the area of God's kingdom by bringing his chosen ones to faith in Christ.

The next point which strikes the reader of Paul's opening paragraph is, that he makes this to be an invariable characteristic by which revealed truth, such truth as Christian men ought fully to know, may be tested : It harmonizes with, and it tends to, practical godliness of life. The precise expression employed by Paul may signify either of these two ideas ; the fact embraces both of them. Revealed truth corresponds to and befits a godly character ; it

has likewise an inherent tendency to produce it. Now, godliness is the precise opposite to that ethical result which the Hebrew teachers were fast producing, to their shame, in the island of Crete. They were practically giving the lie to such knowledge of God as they professed, by "abominable and disobedient" conduct. The fruit of their doctrine was "ungodliness and worldly lusts."¹ By such a plain test did their teaching stand self-condemned. On the contrary, the genuine doctrine of God our Saviour may be known by this, that it produces such a "fear and love for God, as, from the inmost heart of a man, penetrates his whole character, sentiments and behaviour,"² working a reverential submission to the Divine will in all things; in one word, it produces "godliness." What is this but a fresh application to the facts of his own time, of his Master's courageous test of religious teachers and teaching: "By their fruits ye shall know them"?

Once more; Christian faith and Christian knowledge are here made to repose upon a foundation of Christian hope. In the greatest of all his letters, St. Paul had written that we are "saved by hope." For one essential merit of the Gospel is undeniably this, that it has opened before the soul of fallen man a very different prospect from that which naturally we have to face. The religions of nature hold up before our eyes only a curtain of ignorance, screening the hereafter from view. Or if, on that dark background, it be permitted to the imagination of man to paint a future life at all, what ought that picture to be but a "fearful looking-for of judgment"? It is the boast of Christianity that it alone has succeeded in bringing to light "life and immortality," or, as St. Paul here phrases it, "eternal life"; a future existence, that is, which shall be life indeed; not living death, but blessed fellowship with the Father of spirits. As yet, no doubt, that blissful life to come can be

¹ See i. 16; ii. 12.

² So Matthies, *in loc.*

little more than a "hope." It is not yet made manifest what we shall be. None the less is it the progressive disclosure of this splendid future which has already filled the history of Revelation. Already it has passed through two great stages which are here distinguished by St. Paul: the stage of promise, which answers to the elder dispensation, or covenant before Christ; and the stage of partial manifestation, which answers to the New Covenant in Christ. With this key in your hand you can read sacred history.

First came the promise of eternal life through a Saviour to come. This promise is so ancient, so primeval, that Paul rhetorically dates it from before the eras of human history; "before eternal times." This difficult expression cannot be understood (with Alford, Ellicott, and others) as referring to the Divine counsel or purpose from eternity, without compelling us to read the word "promised" in the sense of "decreed to promise"—a violence to language which we are not warranted in having recourse to. It is true that the "grace" of eternal life was "given" to the elect from eternity, as Paul writes in 2 Tim. i. 9; but it was not "promised" until the opening of human history in Paradise. From that date onwards, it constituted the central "hope" of all Old Testament prediction, for the fulfilment of which, in the Messiah, the elder saints were trained to wait, relying on the faithfulness of a Promiser, who (as Paul reminds us by a unique word, found also in Euripides) "cannot lie."

But what has only been promised is still, in the main, a thing concealed. The fit season came; that epoch in history when all things suited; or to use a Pauline expression in another place, "the fulness of the time."¹ Then, says Paul, breaking off his sentence to commence a new construction, as though the new era deserved no less, "[God] manifested his word." The emphasis of this phrase almost

¹ Gal. iv. 4.

calls for our writing "Word" with a capital initial. It is the Eternal Word whose personal advent and self-manifestation in the flesh is the fulfilment of all ancient hope; He it is who by his life and death and resurrection has made that eternal life for men, for which the fathers waited, *a manifest certainty*. From his lips we hear the assurance of it as a present boon. By his decease we behold it won for us. In his resurrection we recognize the pledge and earnest of it. Through his quickening Spirit do we receive the actual beginnings which are to grow into its final or complete fulfilment.

We, then, who have welcomed this Gospel message and live under the era or period of manifestation, how do we stand related to eternal life? Are we still saved only by the *hope* of it? Yes, it is still ours, if you will, to wait in hope of life eternal; yet not as the elder saints did. They waited in hope of what was promised only, never beheld, never tasted. We wait as men, who have seen the commencement, hope for the end; as men, who have tasted the first fruits, hope for the harvest. Two stages are past or present; the last is near. The age of promise lies behind us; the age of partial manifestation is ours; soon shall dawn the day of perfected possession. Blessed are they who still believe, and believing, hope, and hoping, wait; they shall inherit everlasting life.

After this remarkable exordium (for it is more than a salutation) the Apostle proceeds at once to his immediate purpose in writing. As consists with its practical character, the main body of the letter (extending to Chapter iii. 11), admits of the simplest possible division. Down to the close of the first Chapter the writer is giving to his representative a charge respecting the Church organization he was to set on foot as a safeguard against the influence of the errorists. This section falls easily into two paragraphs, of which the former (i. 5-9) describes the qualifications of the elders to

be ordained over congregations; and the latter (i. 10-16) explains the necessity for strong measures in defence of the Church's purity by describing the false teachers and their dangerous influence. In what remains of the central portion of his Epistle, St. Paul instructs Titus how to urge, upon various classes among the private members of the Church, the practical duties of a Christian life as they legitimately spring out of Christian doctrine. This section subdivides in like manner into two: the duties respectively of domestic and of social life (ii. 1-15, and iii. 1-11); but under both the main interest attaches to those weighty sentences in which the writer enforces his admonitions by motives drawn from the great facts and truths of evangelical religion. In no other portion of his writings does the Apostle descend into more detailed or elementary moral instructions; in none does he ground his ethics more expressly on the most sacred doctrines of the faith.

J. OSWALD DYKES.

THE EXEGESIS OF THE SCHOOLMEN.

So far we have at once recognized one source of the weakness of scholastic exegesis—its secondhandness, its lack of independence, its traditionalism, its abject submission to inadequate authority in matters wherein abdication of the individual right to test truth and to acquire fresh knowledge is fatal to progress. A few men of genius like Abelard, Rupert of Deutz, and above all, Nicolas of Lyra, gave a fresh impulse to the science of interpretation; but, practically, between the sixth and the fifteenth century there was little genuine criticism, and still less demonstrable progress. It was not till the taking of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, the invention of printing in

1449, the use of vernacular languages for purposes of instruction, the Renaissance, and above all the Reformation, that "Greece rose from the dead with the New Testament in her hand." Nominalism, Mysticism, Neo-Platonism, modern Philosophy, modern Culture, modern Criticism, Philology, and the recent science of Comparative Religion, have one after another dealt their deathblows to the spirit of scholasticism;¹—blows of which it must inevitably perish, though it still retains, in some regions, some faint semblance of life. As late as 1879 the present Pope, Leo XIII., in his Encyclical Letter, still wished to send us back to the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas for the defence of the Faith. No one will deny either the greatness or the holiness of St. Thomas of Aquinum;² but nothing is more certain than that he who would try to defend Holy Scripture on the principles of interpretation which he borrowed almost exclusively from the Fathers, will be using an old and broken shield of mediævalism against the terrible artillery of modern warfare. It is in no spirit of disparagement to the Angelic Doctor, rather it is the inevitable result of the age in which he lived, that we are compelled to say "Non tali dextrâ, non defensibus istis." The assertion of Calvin was not boastful, but literally true, when he said that the Reformers "had shed more light on the understanding of Scripture than all the authors who had existed since the rise of the Papacy, and that the Romanists themselves would not deny them this praise."³ "Bone Deus!" exclaims Flacius, "quam nil minus a theologis (quod dolens gemensque dico) actum est inde ferme a Christi tempo-

¹ See Ueberweg, vol. i. p. 357 (E. tr.). Hauréau *Hist. de la Philos. Introd.*

² "Far above all other scholastic doctors towers St. Thomas Aquinas, their Master and Prince. . . . Greatly enriched as he was with the science of God and the science of man, he is likened to the sun; for he warmed the whole earth with the fire of his holiness, and filled the whole earth with the splendour of his teaching."—Leo XIII.

Calvin, *Antidot. in Conc. Trid.*, Sess. iv. (in Klausen, *Hermen.*, p. 229).

ribus ad nostram hanc ætatem quam ut ipsemet natus textus ac sensus Scripturæ clare perciperetur." ¹

Another source of weakness in the exegesis of the schools is that it was essentially clerical and monkish, and therefore under the absolute despotism of a rigid system of doctrines from which it was death and ruin to diverge. As late as the 15th century the Council of Constance promulgated a decree that "no layman ought publicly to expound Scripture, but to yield to the order appointed by the Lord, to open the ear to those who have received the grace of teaching, and to be taught divine things by them. If any layman break this rule let him be excommunicated for forty days." The natural result of such notions is that the whole of scholastic exegesis is tinged with professionalism. John of Salisbury says in so many words, "*Claustales rectissime et tutissime philosophantur*," and in setting down the requirements of the interpreter he simply describes the life of a monk. ² The taint of monachism comes out, again and again, both in the questions and the comments of even the better scholastic exegetes. Nicolas of Lyra towers above all his predecessors and most of his followers, yet if any one will turn to his commentary he will find on Gen. iv. 1, "*quod primi parentes egressi sunt de Paradiso virgines*;" on Gen. iv. 23, that Lamech's wives devoted themselves *a toro*; on Gen. viii. 16, that Noah's family lived in a celibate condition in the Ark, and many other notes which are very monkish in tone, some of which Luther in his commentary contemptuously sweeps away as a "*närrisch Ding*." Even the Council of Trent lays down the rule that "To judge of the true sense and interpretation of Scripture belongs to the Church," and that "in things

¹ Flacius, *Clavis*; *Præf.* (A.D. 1567).

² Johan. Sarisbur., *Polycrat.*, vii. 18. "It was the solitude of the cloister, the midnight office, frequent vigils, and a life of prayer, that set Lanfranc against Berenger, Anselm against Roscelin, and Bernard against Abelard." Vaughan's *Life of St. Thomas of Aquino*, p. 145.

pertaining to faith and morals, no one is to decide against the sense which the Holy Church has held and holds."¹ But how purely negative is this rule! It denies our individual capacity to judge of Scripture, yet does not tell us how we are to understand it. For to refer us to the interpretation of "the Church" is to refer us to the vaguest and most unreal of abstractions. The Church has never laid down a single positive rule of exegesis. If the Church be represented by the majority of her great doctors, they—from the Apostolical Fathers downwards—abound in interpretations which were once universally accepted, but are now abandoned as absolutely untenable. Further than this, they exhibit the extremest diversities of opinion even about the most important passages, and constantly run counter to each other. The Church has never formally accepted any of their rules, and if she had done so, those rules, even when most admired, have proved themselves to be valueless. The Church has never sanctioned or laid down the acceptance of any single commentator, or even adopted any special comment on any single passage. Different branches of the Church have understood very differently even the rules which pertain to such external matters as oaths, images, the laws of marriage, and the obligations of the Sabbath. The Universal Church has never so much as agreed as to what the Bible is.² The Greek Church forbids the reading of certain parts; the Romish Church has largely discouraged the private study of *any* part. The Church has never come to an agreement as to the text of Scripture. The Roman Church accepts the Vulgate, the Greek Church the LXX., the Reformed Churches refer to the original text, which in many respects differs from both. Under such circumstances one might foresee that "the Church" would be interpreted by Romanists to mean "the Pope." "The

¹ Conc. Trident., Sess. lv., Decret., 6.

² See Merx, *Eine Rede vom Auslegen*, 1879.

supreme judgment," says Cardinal Bellarmine, "rests with the supreme Pontiff."¹ Hence, as Luther said, in Papal exegesis, "it was the Pope who sat on the eggs." But all history has proved again and again that in these matters neither Pope nor Church is infallible, and "as the Churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria have erred, so too the Church of Rome hath erred." Nay, even within her own limits, the Church of Rome was forced to tolerate wide differences of exegetical opinion within the limits of strict dogma. The Franciscans would tolerate no divergence from Nicolas of Lyra; the Dominicans none from St. Thomas or Hugo of St. Caro; the Augustinians none from Augustine. But, as Erasmus wisely said, "No one who is earnest in the pursuit of truth ought to bind himself by the authority of any one. It is not right to attribute to any more than they themselves claim, and what they would be all the less entitled to claim if they did."²

No one has more naively expressed the duty of the subservience of Scripture to Roman dogmatism than Hugo of St. Victor.³ He says, "Learn first clearly and briefly what you are to hold about the faiths of the Trinity, indeed, what you ought to profess and truly believe. But *afterwards*, when you have begun to read the books (of Scripture), and find many things expressed obscurely, many openly, many ambiguously, attach to their base the things you find openly expressed, *if perchance they agree therewith*. And if you find anything *contrary* to what you have learned, yet it is inconvenient to be daily changing your opinion . . . especially till you have ascertained what the universal faith, which can never be false, bids you to think on the point." Indeed,

¹ *De Verbo Dei*, iv. 1 (comp. iii. 8). So too Gerson, *Tract. de Exam. Doctr.* He says that the only infallible rule is a General Council, representing the whole Church; but where is the infallible rule to be found?

² See Erasmus, on 1 Cor. viii. 39.

³ *Eruditio Didascalica*, vi. 4. This treatise enables the reader to judge accurately of the spirit and the method of scholastic exegesis.

he lays it down as a rule that no one can rightly interpret Scripture till he spiritually knows the doctrines of the Trinity, freewill, sin, punishment, the Incarnation, the Sacraments, and the Resurrection. Could there be a more clear admission of the truth of the scornful epigram—

“Hic liber est in quo quærit sua dogmata quidque
Invenit es pariter dogmata quidque sua”?

And how completely does such a method run counter to the remark of St. Jerome himself, who says: “He is the best teacher who does not bring his doctrine into the Scripture but out of the Scripture.” Are we then surprised to find that Albertus Magnus discovers the Roman Catholic doctrine of merits in Psalm cix., and sees in the Psalm three divisions; first, on the merits of beginners; secondly, on the merits of proficient; and thirdly, on the merits of the perfect?¹ or that Paulus of Burgos, in his reactionary and retrogressive writings, lays it down that we can never take anything as the literal sense of Scripture, however clear it be, if it in any way runs counter to the views of the Church? or that St. Thomas commenting on Rom. ii. 14, feels himself obliged (after Augustine) to explain away the words “do by nature the things contained in the law,” because they have a Pelagian aspect, so that “by nature” must mean “by nature reformed by grace,” or by the light of natural reason, which does not exclude grace since grace is necessary? Could there be any more effectual method for stereotyping existing views, whether right or wrong? Were not the works of the Sententiarii and the writings of Systematists under such conditions naturally regarded as more important than the genuine study of Scripture? And do not the later commentaries of Cornelius à Lapide, and Tyrinus shew in every passage the dangers of starting with a necessity for maintaining the tyranny of Romanist prepossessions? But

¹ See Elster, *De Med. Ævi Theol. Exeget.*, 19.

the true handling of knowledge, as Bacon said, is not "magisterial and peremptory," but "ingenious and faithful."

Nor was it an unnatural result of such conditions that at last the Scriptures themselves came to be regarded as unimportant by many of the scholastic students. The great Schoolmen, indeed, knew the Scriptures well, but many Doctors knew nothing of it in the later scholastic period. The name "a *Biblical* theologian" became a term of contempt. We see from Erasmus that no one thought himself, or was considered by others, to be "a theologian," who did not know Aristotle. R. Stephens, in his "Apologia," quotes the public remark of a Sorbonne professor, that he was fifty years old before he knew what the New Testament was, and Stephens adds that they certainly drew their "theology," not from the oracles of God, but from Peter Lombard, Master of the Sentences, from the heathen Aristotle, and from the Mohametan Averroes. An old Pope is reported to have said, "The Scripture is a book which if a man will keep close to he will quite ruin the catholic faith." Carolstadt admitted that he had been a Doctor of Divinity for eight years before he read the New Testament. Eck confessed that taken alone it made for the Reformers. Balœus (? 1563) says (Cent. 8), that Linacre on reading the Sermon on the Mount while he lay on his deathbed, flung the book away with all his force, exclaiming, "either this is not the Gospel, or men are not Christians." Sixtus of Amana, in his *Antibarbarus*,¹ relates that Albert, Archbishop of Mayence (A.D. 1530), happening to take up a New Testament, read a few pages and then put it down with the remark, "I don't know what book this is, I only see that all things contained in it are hostile to us." Indeed, of what great use was an independent study of Scripture when all its doctrines were thought to be more clearly, and less perilously, taught in the *Summa Theologiæ*, and the *Sentences*;

¹ *Antibarb. Bibl.*, ii. 7.

and when nothing *could* or *might* be deduced from it other, or contrary to, what the reader was already supposed to know perfectly when he came to it; and when it was openly maintained that "the Pope might modify the words of God and of the Evangelists?"¹

But we shall find, as we proceed, that other circumstances beside secondhandness and dogmatic prepossession were injurious to the exegesis of Schoolmen; and that what was original in their methods and disquisitions became, in fact, a greater source of mischief than the *rudis indigestaque moles* which they heaped together from the writings of those who had passed away so many centuries before they began to produce their glosses and catenæ.

F. W. FARRAR.

THE ROUTE OF THE EXODUS

THAUMATURGISTS of all ages have sought to impress the multitude by claiming power to override the accepted laws of Nature; and many commentators on the Bible have laboured to prove that what they only seemed to accomplish, the Almighty enabled holy men of old to accomplish in fact, thus giving the world assurance of the Divine inspiration by which they spake. But the more we study the miracles recorded in Holy Writ, the more forcibly are we impressed by what has been termed their *economy*. So much, indeed, are the miracles spoken of in Scripture wrought by means of an extended use of the existing order of things, rather than by its violation, that we might almost lay down the rule, that the "mighty works," wrought on earth, either directly by, or with his aid, to whom nothing is impossible, differ mainly from those affected by mere traders in the miraculous in that, whilst the latter would have

¹ *Antoninus*, i. 17.

striven to shew that they were above Nature by setting her at defiance, the Divine Author of Nature's laws works by using rather than by defying them. This principle finds pre-eminent illustration in the miracles of our Lord ; as where He feeds the multitude through the multiplication of loaves and fishes, instead of by turning stones into bread ; and where He directs the servants to fill the water-pots with water that He may turn their contents into wine, instead of adding to the marvel by causing empty vessels to become full of wine at his word. Instead, however, of citing other examples of the economy of miracles furnished by the Gospel history, let us seek them in the pages of the Old Testament, with which we are now more directly concerned. Here, in like manner, we find the barrel of meal and the cruse of oil made use of as the germ from which the Lord brought forth food to supply the needs of Elijah and the widow of Zarephath and her son ; the single pot of oil, belonging to the widow of one of the sons of the prophets, overflowing so as to fill the empty vessels, not a few, that Elisha bade her borrow ; and the command given by the same prophet to Naaman to wash seven times in the river Jordan, instead of Elisha's striking his hand over the place and recovering the leper on the spot, as the captain of the host of the king of Syria had expected him to do. Passing over innumerable similar instances, and coming at once to the events immediately preceding the miracle which will more particularly engage our attention, no one can fail to be struck with the fact that most of the plagues of Egypt are simply the natural evils to which that land was especially subject intensified to an extraordinary degree ; while the passage of the children of Israel through the midst of the sea is expressly attributed to the fact that the Lord caused the sea to go back *by a strong east wind*.

After it has been proved, therefore, as it has been proved beyond all doubt, that the east wind could never have

divided the waters of the Red Sea in such a manner as to enable the children of Israel to pass through the midst of it on dry ground, it surely behoves us not to evade the difficulty by denying the agency of the east wind, which Moses expressly declares was the means employed by God, and by saying that the more impossible it is that the east wind would cause the sea to go back, the greater the miracle; but rather to inquire diligently whether we have not ourselves fallen into error through accepting without question the locality usually assigned to the Passage of the Israelites. To the reader of the English Version it seems plain that the line of passage must have been somewhere on the Red Sea; but in the Original, the words יָם סוּף, *Yam Suph*, do not mean the "Red Sea" at all, but "Sea of Reeds," and are therefore inapplicable to the Red Sea. The tradition which fixes the locality of the Passage of the Israelites in the neighbourhood of Suez is only of Moslem origin and carries no weight; so that we are free to seek for a new locality that shall better fulfil the requirements of the events narrated in Exodus xiv. than has hitherto been assigned to them by commentators.

The seekers, however, must necessarily be few; for though, like myself, many have travelled through the land of Egypt, only a small number have been able to sojourn in it long enough to carry on those diligent investigations into its physical features which could alone lead to the discovery of the true site. One of this small band of Biblical students is Canon Scarth, whose investigations have led him to fix upon a spot which completely fulfils all the requirements of the narrative of Exodus xiv. He has published a short account of his investigations in the *Palestine Exploration Fund Magazine*; but as this publication has only a very limited circulation, and as I have had the privilege of learning further details from Canon Scarth himself, both by word of mouth and by letter, I will endeavour to make known at

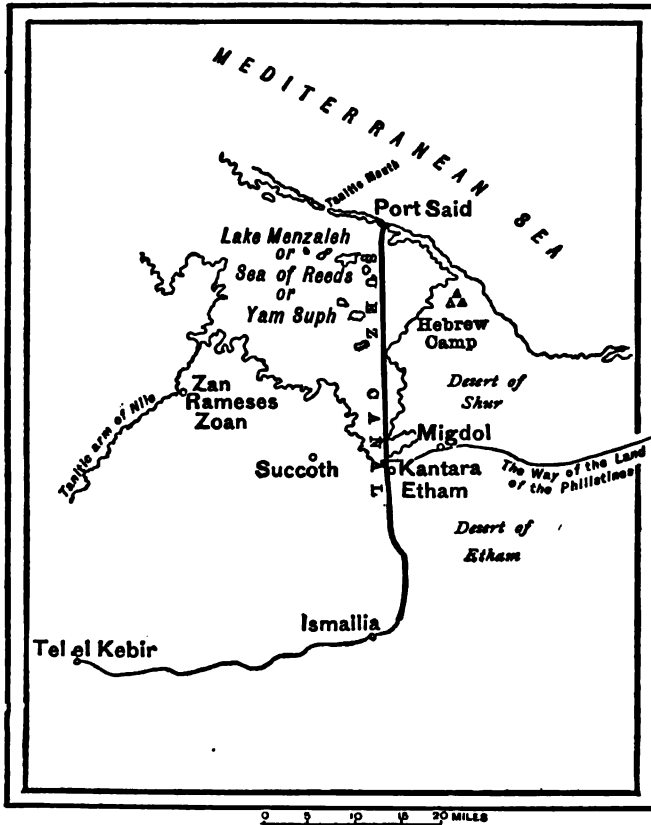
greater length, and to a wider circle of readers, the results of the Canon's observations and researches, that they may judge for themselves as to the merit of his discoveries, premising only that the philological arguments on which he relies are based upon the authority of one of the first Egyptologists of our day, as well as upon that of distinguished Hebrew and Greek scholars.

Canon Scarth agrees with Dr. Brugsch and Mr. R. S. Poole in identifying the present fishing village of Zan or San with the Zoan of Psalm lxxviii. 12 and Numbers xiii. 22, and with the Rameses of Exodus xii. 37 and Numbers xxxiii. 5. This once magnificent city was called Tanis by the Greeks, and gave its name to the arm of the Nile on which it was situated. The mud brought by this branch of the great river has formed the broad piece of land which separates Zan from Lake Menzaleh, but it is probable that in the days of Moses the town lay much nearer to that lake than the modern village does. The now bleak and sterile plain around Zan is called by the monuments the "plain" or "field of Zoan," and was in olden times a pleasant region, in the midst of which stood the fortress of Tan or Zan (also called Ta, Za, Zor and Zoru, "a fortified place"). Adjacent to this fortress Rameses II. erected a new town, with stately temples and shrines, and changed the name of the place to Pi Rameses, "the city of Rameses." Of this splendid city only its ruins now remain, but from the numerous shattered obelisks, and the fine capitals, shafts, and bases of columns lying about in grand confusion, we can form some idea of what the temples must have been in the zenith of their glory. Colossal statues of the mighty conqueror and zealous builder meet us at every turn, all inscribed with the name of Rameses II., and one of them bearing an additional inscription in which he is styled "destroyer of foreign nations,"—a fit title for one who was

at that very time seeking to destroy the Hebrew foreigners; for almost all Egyptologists concur in holding Rameses II. to be the Pharaoh of the Oppression. The name of his son and successor, Menepthah I., the Pharaoh of the Exodus, is also to be seen on many of the ruins, proving that he carried on the work of building at Pi-Rameses. The principal temple occupied the centre of the town, though not its highest part, for the houses were grouped around it on artificial mounds so high as to deserve the name of hills. These mounds, which are still in existence, overlook the whole land of Goshen; and on the night of the first Passover, that memorable "night of the Lord," "the hosts of the Lord" might have been seen, from the mounds of Zoan, moving onwards in the bright moonlight as one man towards their appointed goal.

"Their first camping-place," says Canon Scarth, "was Succoth, '*booths*'; in that district the people dwell in booths at the present day: the next Etham, identified by the Khetham of the Egyptian papyri translated by Brugsch Bey. The royal palace at Rameses, the halting-place in Succoth, and the border '*fortress*' Etham, are all mentioned in extant documents, one day's journey intervening." Etham, or Khetham, which is represented on a monument of Seti I. at Karnak, as a fortress occupying both banks of a river, its opposite parts being connected by a bridge, is believed by Canon Scarth to have been in the vicinity of the modern Kantara (the chief halting-station between Ismailia and Port Said on the Suez Canal), the name of which place signifying "bridge," perpetuates the memory of the ancient bridge uniting the double fortress. Mr. Scarth found the site of Etham marked by the ruins of a large city; and on a frieze forming part of the remains of a temple he saw the cartouche of Rameses II. carved in red granite. At Kantara there is a ferry that plies in connection with the old caravan route to Syria, which passed

close in front of Etham. This is "the way of the land of the Philistines," the desert road to Gaza that is believed to have been the track by which the Holy Family took the flight *into* Egypt: but the flight *out of* Egypt was not to be by this near route to Palestine, across the river of



Egypt; for "it came to pass when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God led them not by the way of the land of the Philistines, *although that was near*,¹ for God said,

¹ "Literally, *because it was near*, the very *nearness* made it objectionable, because it would have brought them very soon into the country of a warlike enemy." Bp. Wordsworth.

Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt." Lest, therefore, the Israelites should fear to face the well-armed and disciplined Egyptian garrisons of the line of fortresses that guarded the eastern frontier of the land of the Pharaohs, or rather perhaps lest they should be discouraged by the continued attacks of the enemies they would have encountered along the old caravan route to Palestine, the Lord caused them on reaching Etham to turn from east to north; and "God led the people about through¹ the way of the wilderness of the יַם סוּף, *Yam Suph*, 'Sea of Reeds.'"² This is the second time the *Yam Suph* has been spoken of in the Book of Exodus; the first mention of it being in connection with the plague of locusts, these insects having, we are told been cast by a west wind into the *Yam Suph*. From the "field of Zoan," that the locusts had been ravaging, the distance to the *Yam Suph*, the modern Lake Menzaleh, was only a few miles. Etham, however, is nearer still, for here we stand on the very edge of the Sea of Reeds, an oblong expanse of salt water a thousand square miles in extent,

¹ "Or rather, God made the people to turn toward the wilderness of the *Yam Suph*." *Bp. Wordsworth*.

² Exodus xiii. 17, 18, "Red Sea" in our English Version, a mistranslation, founded doubtless on the words *ἐρυθρά θάλασσα* adopted by the Septuagint, at a time when the Greeks (who neither knew, nor would have cared to know, what name certain Hebrews who were bond-slaves in Egypt more than a thousand years before, had given to Lake Menzaleh) were well acquainted with the Sea of Reeds, and had already named it the Red Sea; not without reason, for its waters are often tinged with reddish sand, especially at the period of the inundation of the Nile, when branches of that river flow through it charged with red soil from Ethiopia.

In the two places in which the *Yam Suph* is referred to in the New Testament the Septuagint nomenclature is followed, but it is probable that in verse 36 of the Hebrew speech of St. Stephen, of which Acts vii. gives the report in Greek, and (if we hold with Clement of Alexandria and others that the Epistle to the Hebrews was originally written in Hebrew) also in Hebrews xi. 29, the words first used were *Yam Suph*, which were afterwards altered into *ἐρυθρά θάλασσα* (Red Sea). The ancient Egyptian name for Lake Menzaleh or the *Yam Suph* bore the same meaning as the one given it by the Israelites; so does that used in the Coptic Bible.

intersected to the east by the Suez Canal that cuts through the long low bank of sand which bounds the Yam Suph on the north. At this end its waters are clear of vegetation. Canon Scarth thus describes the lake: "It is quite a sea, for from its centre its own horizon bounds it, but the broken edges of mirage-like islands tell that land is near. The hundreds of beautiful lateen sails that are its only ornament shew what a busy place it might be, were there myriads of slaves to keep up the embankments that in Egypt's golden days held back this salt water from the land of Zoan, when the Nile mingled its flood with the lagoon of this Sea of Reeds. The long narrow strip of dry ground before mentioned prevented the ready exit of the water of the Nile into the Mediterranean, and still prevents it; so when the inundations come, part of the once fertile field of Zoan becomes a brackish marsh, for the waters of the sea and river intermingle and flood the plain. On my way to Zoan I crossed this inland sea with a glorious breeze. Its inner (or southern) border next to Goshen is lined with reeds, so that at the present day the entrance to the Tanic branch of the Nile, which leads to Zoan, is invisible from the Yam Suph; but, thanks to floating buoys of reeds the channel can be traced, and the river entered." It was this southern part of the Sea of Reeds with which the Israelites had long been acquainted when they gave it that descriptive name; and the exuberant growth of reeds (*Suph*), mentioned in the above quotation as characterizing this portion of Lake Menzaleh at the present day, still testifies to the fitness of the title bestowed on it by them centuries ago.

Had the Israelites pursued their course in an easterly direction, and quitted Egypt by the way of the land of the Philistines, they would have soon lost sight of the Yam Suph. But the Lord commanded Moses to "speak unto

the children of Israel that they turn and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-zephon : before it shall ye encamp by the sea ;" and in obeying this command the Hebrews continued to keep the Sea of Reeds at no great distance on their left, as they had done ever since leaving Rameses.

When Canon Scarth was at the ruins of Etham, he enquired of several Arabs who were with him, "Where is Migdol?" wishing to ascertain whether their answer would confirm the opinion he had been previously led to form as to its northward position. They all pointed towards the Mediterranean, and said it was distant half a day's journey in that direction; just where the Migdol of the Roman itinerarium is placed in the French map of the Suez Canal, where it is called "the Migdol of the Bible." Both its Semitic name of *Migdol*, and its Egyptian name of *Samut*, signify "a tower," and the latter name is preserved in the modern Tell-es-Samût, on the outskirts of the Desert ("the wilderness of Shur" of Exod. xv. 22), which probably occupies the site of Migdol. At a spot north-east of Migdol, now called Râs-el-Kasrûn, the shrine of Zeus Casius once crowned the summit of a hill, and possibly marked the site of the place "over against" which the Israelites were directed to encamp. The word Baal-zephon occurs in a papyrus in the British Museum in the form *Baali Zepûna*, "Lord of the North," the very meaning of the words seeming to testify to the *northern* situation of Baal-zephon. Pi-hahiroth, the Bible tells us, was "by the sea," that is, by the Mediterranean, for the Hebrews had now reached its shore, and had pitched their tents on a triangular tract of land, bounded on the north, east and west by the Mediterranean and the Yam Suph (Lake Menzaleh), and on the south by the Desert of Shûr.

As the Israelites gazed across its dreary expanse they saw clouds of sand arising in the distance, and there was borne

upon their ears the sound of the tramp of a mighty army. Nearer and nearer it came, till out of the sand wreaths emerged the pomp of martial array, and the shuddering fugitives saw too clearly that Pharaoh and all his host were pursuing after them, and would overtake them in a spot where all chance of escape seemed cut off. Loud and bitter were their murmurings against the Lord and against their leader; but the faith of Moses stood firm, and he encouraged the people with the prophetic words, "Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord which he will shew you to-day, for the Egyptians whom ye have seen to-day¹ ye shall see them again no more for ever. The Lord shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace. And the Lord said unto Moses, Wherefore criest thou unto me? speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward." In what direction was it possible for them to go forward? Situated as the Israelites were when they received this command, they could only have fulfilled it by advancing a small number abreast along the low narrow strip of sand mentioned before as forming the boundary between the Mediterranean and the Sea of Reeds; a march that might well have seemed in the eyes of men only calculated to expose them to more certain destruction.

But the Ruler of the wind and sea "caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night and made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided. And the children of Israel went into² the midst of the sea upon the dry ground; and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left." The part of the Yam Suph which lies to the eastward of the Suez Canal has lately been in a great measure reclaimed from Lake Menzaleh, and turned into land, so that we cannot now trace these

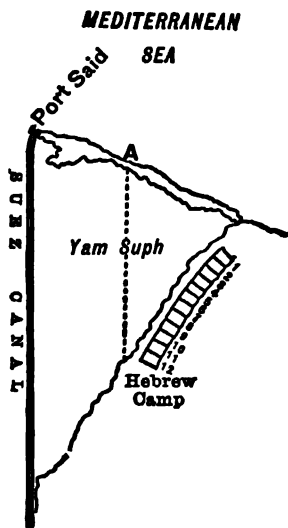
¹ Or rather "as ye have seen the Egyptians to-day" (for on the morrow the Israelites saw them dead). *Bp. Wordsworth*.

² ² should here be rendered "through," as in *Exod. xiv. 16*.

remarkable effects of the east wind on that side of the Sea of Reeds, as we can still do to the west of the Canal where, as Canon Scarth says, "the waters of the Yam Suph can be seen, *when there is a strong east wind*, going back so rapidly that shoals of fish are left dead on the shore, the sea is changed into dry land, the waves flow back, and a way is opened through the midst of the sea, a practicable roadway for a host. The waves of the Yam Suph thus recede at Port Said, and there is a stretch of water between the Arab town and the French town that becomes dry by this process, and people walk over it as a short cut when it is so dried. What happens at Port Said under the lee of the houses and of the Canal bank, would have happened with intensity on the far eastern shore where there was nothing but the sand. At that end of the Sea of Reeds, the east wind, blowing its waters back, made a way for the children of Israel to the dry ground along which they deployed, with the sea as a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left."

I have drawn a dotted line upon the sketch map on the next page, shewing the extreme limit to which Canon Scarth believes the Yam Suph to have flowed back under the influence of the east wind, a distance which, be it observed, would have enabled the Israelites to move forward in accordance with the Targum tradition, that each of the twelve tribes walked on the line expressly made for it right into the midst of the sea. Not all abreast, however, but in rotation; Canon Scarth's view being that the twelve tribes were encamped side by side in a line along the east shore of Lake Menzaleh; and that as its waters began to recede, the tribe occupying the North flank, and marked 1 on the sketch map, first entered the Yam Suph straight in front, and proceeded till it reached the strip of sand dividing the Sea of Reeds from the Mediterranean. As the waters continued to flow back, a way was opened for tribe 2 to do

the same; but both because it would have to traverse a greater expanse of the dried-up bed of the Yam Suph, and because the first tribe had got the start of it, it would find on reaching the strip of sand, that tribe 1 was already marching ahead of it along that narrow bank. This would be the case with each succeeding tribe, so that by the time tribe 12 got to *A*, tribe 1 would have reached the spot now occupied by Port Said, and the whole host would be on the dry land, with sea on either hand.



A marks the spot where the Mediterranean broke through. The dotted line shows the extreme limit to which the Yam Suph receded.

At *A* the Mediterranean breaks right through to the Yam Suph whenever a strong west wind is blowing; and when this actually took place after the Israelites had passed, the very sight of the waves dashing grandly over would deepen the sense of security enjoyed by God's chosen people, as they gazed from their halting-place at Port Said

on the dividing wall of water which parted them from the foes they had so greatly dreaded.¹

The Egyptians, tempted by seeing the way through the midst of the sea still open, thought it would be as easy for them to traverse as it had been for the fugitive Hebrews, and dashed heedlessly forward along it. But "it came to pass that in the morning watch the Lord looked unto the host of the Egyptians, and troubled the host of the Egyptians; and took off their chariot wheels, that they drave them heavily, so that the Egyptians said, Let us flee from the face of Israel; for the Lord fighteth for them against the Egyptians." Here, again, we find the God of nature using its forces as his ministers; for, true to the signification of its name, even to the present day is Pi-hahiroth "the place of abysses or quicksands." Canon Scarth relates how when walking along the strip of sand parting the two seas, when the waters had gone back, he found the sand near this very Pi-hahiroth so dry it scarcely took the impression of a camel's foot; but that this was merely the deceptive and treacherous surface-covering of a quicksand was proved by his pressing the tip of his walking-stick into the ground which suddenly swallowed it up nearly to the hilt. The wheels of the Egyptian war-chariots (which we learn from the monuments were frequently of metal) had just the same effect as the ferule-end of the walking-stick in piercing through to the quicksand that lay beneath the hardened crust, which had proved strong enough to support the feet of the children of Israel, as it still does those of the modern traveller. The wheels of Pharaoh's chariots either got detached from their axles,

¹ The following calculations have been furnished by an authority in military matters: "1,000 British soldiers camp on 850 yards by 150. The encampment of the Israelites on the shore of Lake Menzaleh was 6 miles long. Taking the march at 2 miles an hour for all—the first division leaving at midnight would be at Port Said by dawn; and tribe 12 leaving at four would be at A by seven. The Egyptians entering the sea at five would be in the centre by six."

and stuck fast in the quicksands, or the chariots and their occupants were together sucked down into the abyss, and, to use the words of Moses in his song of triumph (Exodus xv. 12), "the earth swallowed them." Such as escaped this fate perished by drowning, for a mighty storm (see Psalm lxxvii. 16, 17) arose from the west, and, as Joshua afterwards related to the descendants of the Hebrew fugitives, "the Egyptians pursued after your fathers with chariots and horsemen into the Sea of Reeds (Yam Suph). And when they cried unto the Lord, he put darkness between you and the Egyptians, and brought the sea (the Mediterranean) upon them and covered them." To quote once more the language of Canon Scarth: "Moses and his people were safe on the dry ground; they could see the utter overthrow of their enemies; they could see how the wind not only carried back the waters over the midst of the sea, but how the foaming billows stood upright as a heap. From their place of refuge, the part of the narrow bank where the sea is a defence upon the right hand and upon the left, it is grand, when there is a strong gale from the west, to see the great waves, and the surf running very high, and threatening to overwhelm the long strip of land where the Israelites found themselves so secure. Excepting on Chesil Beach, and on the south coast of Ceylon, I never saw such a glorious surf. The children of Israel's first impression of the mighty waves that appeared to threaten them, but were kept within bounds, and spent their strength upon the open beach of "the Great Sea," must have astonished them as much as when the sea went back and became a way for the ransomed to pass over. The Great Sea itself was a new wonder to these bond-slaves who had been accustomed to look out through a forest of reeds upon the placid sea which borders the plain of Zoan. The very reeds make a natural breakwater, so that there can be no surf upon the southern shore of Lake Menzaleh."

It is impossible to imagine a greater contrast than it there presents to the same Sea of Reeds at this its northern end: and we can imagine with what awe the children of Israel must have watched its waves rolling back again in their strength to their accustomed place, so that the bed of the Yam Suph, which had been a way of life for the ransomed to pass over, became a grave for their enemies, who "sank like lead in the mighty waters."

The utter destruction of Pharaoh's host having been accomplished through the agency of the west wind, this wind, having fulfilled its purpose, ceased to blow, and the Hebrews were enabled to retrace their steps along the bank of sand and to return to their own camping ground at Pi-hahiroth. In passing by the place where the Mediterranean had broken through, "Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the sea-shore. And Israel saw that great work which the Lord did upon the Egyptians, and the people feared the Lord, and believed the Lord, and his servant Moses."

In Exodus xv. 22 we are told that "Moses brought Israel from the Sea of Reeds; and they went into the wilderness of Shur: and they went three days in the wilderness and found no water." This wilderness took its name from the "wall," called in Hebrew "Shur," built there some hundred and fifty years before the Exodus, as a defence against the Hyksos or Shepherd kings. From Numbers xxxiii. 8, we learn that the next three days were spent by the Israelites in wandering through the wilderness of Etham, where we do not hear of their suffering from any scarcity of water, a fact which need not surprise us if we bear in mind that the word *midbar*, translated "wilderness" in our version of the Old Testament, so far from being synonymous with "an arid desert," is actually derived from "*dabar*" "to drive cattle to pasture." Again, the children of Israel went not "the way of the land of the Philistines,"

although it was once more *near*; but, continuing in a southerly direction, they pitched their camp at Marah, which Canon Scarth agrees with Dr. Brugsch in identifying with the present Bitter Lakes intersected by the Suez Canal, for in them we recognize "the waters of Marah" of which the Israelites could not drink, "for they were *bitter*."

It is hard to refrain from tracing further the wanderings of the children of Israel, but it would be beyond the scope of the present paper to do so, as it has only been written in the belief that the minute agreement of every detail of the physical and topographical features of the places suggested as the scenes of the events of the Exodus, with the Bible narrative, tends greatly to elucidate this most important portion of God's word.

A. G. WELD.

ISAIAH: AN IDEAL BIOGRAPHY.

V. UNDER HEZEKIAH.—THE EGYPTIAN ALLIANCE.

THE ambitious foreign policy of Hezekiah received, as we have seen in the case of Merodach-Baladan, a check at the hands of Isaiah. But it would seem that the king yielded in the letter rather than in the spirit. The Shebna party, the "scornful men" who sneered at the prophet's preaching, were still dominant in the king's counsels, and Eliakim, if he opposed their designs at all, offered but an ineffectual protest. The defeat of Merodach by Sargon, his retreat from Babylon, and the capture of that city by the Assyrian king, as recorded in the Assyrian inscriptions,¹ attested the wisdom of Isaiah's counsels; and probably, during the remainder of that king's reign they contented

¹ Le Normant, *Ancient History*, vol. i. p. 395.

themselves with accumulating wealth, and employing it, as Shebna had done, in an ostentatious stateliness. The accession of Sennacherib however, and the active measures which he took against a renewed rebellion of Babylon under the same, or possibly another, Merodach,¹ alarmed the princes of Judah. They felt that the new king was not likely to acquiesce in the position of independence which Hezekiah had taken up, and they looked out for a fresh alliance. They turned, as the last king of Israel had turned, to the Ethiopian dynasty which was then reigning in Egypt (2 Kings xvii. 4). So, or Sabaco, Hoshea's ally, had been defeated by Sargon, but his grandson Tirhakah gave promise of a vigorous and active policy, and the counsellors of Hezekiah turned to him as likely to give them an effective support. Prophets and seers backed them up with the predictions of a counterfeit inspiration (xxviii. 7; xxix. 10), and those who questioned the wisdom of their policy were, as before, reviled as traitors (xxix. 21). Among these Isaiah was naturally prominent. He denounced the Egyptian alliance, as Burke denounced what he called a Regicide Peace, with every form of invective and of satire. It was false and evil in itself because it was trusting in an arm of flesh, and not in the God of Israel. Men were taking counsel, but not of Him, when they "wove their webs"² of diplomatic policy, and strengthened themselves in the strength of Pharaoh, and trusted in the shadow of Egypt (xxx. 2, 3). In the time of Sargon he had borne his witness against such plans by one of those startling symbolic acts which shock our conventional notions of a prophet's dignity, but in which the Eastern mind sees a poetry more impressive than that of language. Laying aside his sackcloth mantle, the "rough garment" of his

¹ Le Normant, *Ancient History*, vol. i. p. 397.

² "Wove their webs," the true rendering of the "cover with a covering," of the Authorized Version.

order (Zech. xiii. 4), in which, with something of the look of a Franciscan friar, he went to and fro in the streets of Jerusalem, he appeared month after month, "naked and barefoot," in the scant attire, *i.e.* of a prisoner stripped of all but his inner tunic and carried off into exile. Men were told, when they wondered, that thus should the Egyptians and Ethiopians in whom they trusted, be carried off, to their own confusion and that of those who found in them their expectation and their glory (chap. xx.). Now again he predicted that the negotiations would issue in shame and confusion. When the embassy started on its way he painted the march of the procession in a word-sketch, which in its keen incisive sarcasm must have had somewhat of the effect of a telling caricature in the politics of modern Europe, and left a stinging epigram to dwell in the memories of men. It took the form of an oracle, such as Isaiah had been wont to speak or write as to the fortunes of the neighbouring nations (xxx. 6, 7), "the Oracle of the beasts of the *Negeb*," *i.e.* of the *South Country*, through which the envoys would have to march on their way to Egypt. He sees the long cavalcade winding its way, asses and camels laden with silver and gold and costly garments, and tapestries and art treasures from Hezekiah's palace, as an offering, half tribute and half bribe, to the Ethiopian king. They find the journey not without the common perils of the country. It was a land of "trouble and anguish," the young and the old lion threatened them when they encamped; the viper and the fiery serpent made them tremble. The prophet dwells, perhaps with a pardonable exaggeration, on these outward perils for the sake of emphasizing the failure which was to follow when they had been surmounted. So much cry and so little wool! So many dangers and sufferings for such a lame and impotent conclusion! He pictures, for himself and for his hearers, the arrival of the embassy at Zoan and

Hanes, their shame and confusion when they meet only with big words and vague promises of help, and are compelled to come to the conclusion that they have come to a people that "should not profit them, but be a shame and a reproach." Using the poetic equivalent for Egypt, as indicating its arrogance and pride, he emphasizes their failure in three short words, which were to become a by-word and a proverb, "Rahab sitting still;" the haughty one who halted and did nothing (xxx. 7).¹ And in contrast with that he draws three other pictures, pointing to a surer ground of confidence. There is Ariel, the "lion of God," as the type and symbol of Jerusalem, disturbed and humbled for a while, speaking low, as a spectre from the shadow-world might speak, but then rising up in its strength, and victorious over its assailants; mustering its heroes, themselves also "lions of God," to do battle against its foes (xxix. 1-6; xxxiii. 7). There is Jehovah Himself, in another sense, the true "Lion of the tribe of Judah" (Rev. v. 5), defending Jerusalem as his own peculiar possession, reserving for Himself the right to punish it in measure, but refusing to abandon it to the fierce shepherds (the Assyrian invaders), who claim it as their prey. With a sudden change of imagery, which reminds us of Æschylus (*Agam.*, 47-57), as the other does of Homer (*Il.*, xxi. 299-302; xviii. 161), his protecting care appears as that of the parent eagles, who hover over their nestlings, scaring off those who come to plunder and destroy. We, who feel our hearts burn within us as we gaze on the word-pictures drawn by such a master hand, can well understand, if we throw ourselves mentally into the position of Isaiah's contemporaries, the impression they then made on them. We cannot wonder that in regard of the first at least of these,

¹ I give the true rendering of the words which appear in the Authorized Version as "their strength is to sit still." "Rahab," it will be remembered, appears for "Egypt" in a contemporary Psalm (Ps. lxxxvii. 4) and in Isa. li. 9.

he should give a special command to the disciples who listened to him, and reported his discourses, that they should "write it in a tablet, and note it in a book, that it may be for the time to come for ever and ever," as an abiding witness against the people who said to the seers, "See not;" and bade the prophets "speak unto them smooth things, and prophesy deceits" (xxx. 8-10).

Side by side with these schemes of the diplomatists, it was natural that Hezekiah should strengthen the fortifications of Jerusalem, as soon as he heard of Sennacherib's projected invasion, an invasion which was probably the direct consequence of his having heard of the embassy to Tirhakah. He "built up all the wall that was broken, and raised it up to the towers, and built another wall without, and Millo (=the Rampart) in the city of David." He took counsel with his princes and his mighty men (we must remember that they included the Shebnas and the Eliakims) to stop the waters of the fountains which were outside the city, so that the army of the king of Assyria might be distressed, and perhaps compelled to remove to a distance from the city through the lack of a supply. With an activity which recalled the old days of Uzziah, darts and shields were provided on a large scale for the use of the defenders. With the eloquence which had been developed under the training of Isaiah, he made an appeal, we might almost say he preached a sermon, to the captains and their troops, and, as at the beginning of his reign he had "spoken comfortably" (literally, "spoken to the heart") "to the Levites," so he spake to them, not without echoes from Isaiah himself or from the Sacred Books which he had made his study (2 Chron. xxxii. 1-8). "Be strong and courageous" (that came from Josh. i. 7); "be not afraid nor dismayed for the king of Assyria, nor for all the multitude that is with him" (that from Isa. vii. 4); "for there be more with us than with him" (that from

the story of Elisha and his servant, which we now find in 2 Kings vi. 13-16): "With him is an arm of flesh, but with us is the Lord our God" (this is a reproduction of the prophet's watchword of "Immanuel" given in Isaiah viii. 10). Even here, however, in the midst of all this eloquent *cento* of devout sentiments, there was to the keen ears of the prophet something of a false ring. There had been no real humiliation, no true repentance. He stands as a seer upon his watch-tower in that "valley of vision,"¹ and sees far off the coming armies, with all the multitude of mighty nations from Elam to Kir; and the valleys are filled with the chariots and horsemen of the invader. The words that follow offer a curious and suggestive parallel to those just quoted from 2 Chron. xxxii. Men were "looking to the armour of the house of the forest," i.e. the arsenal which had been built by Solomon. They saw "the breaches of the city of David that they were many," and took measures to repair them; they "gathered together the waters of the lower pool," that they might have a supply of water and that their enemies might have none. They "numbered the houses of Jerusalem," that each might be registered according to its value as a position of defence, as the "counter of the towers" on the enemy's side noticed those which presented an opening for attack (xxii. 10). They broke down the houses to fortify the walls; they made a ditch between the two walls (Ophel and the high tower, on each side of the valley of Tyropœon) "for the waters of the old pool" (the Pool of Siloam, or the "King's pool," Neh. ii. 14). But in all these was the confidence in

¹ The name obviously designates Jerusalem as a whole, or some special part of it, as being the place in which the prophet received his visions of the future; or, possibly, as being a place of resort for other prophets, who claimed to have their visions there also. Soothsayers and diviners of all kinds were prominent at such a crisis (xxviii.). On this last hypothesis the name may have been given with a certain touch of sarcasm. We recall the description which Thucydides gives of the crowd of excited soothsayers who were found in Athens at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.

an arm of flesh which the prophet looked on with misgiving: "They had not looked to the Maker thereof; they had had no respect to Him who fashioned it long ago." They had forgotten that, "Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain"; that He was in the truest and deepest sense the Builder and Maker of the earthly, as He was afterwards proclaimed to be of the heavenly, Jerusalem (Heb. xi. 10). And how were they spending that interval of preparation for a great national crisis? Already was the city overcrowded with fugitives. Already to the prophet's mind it was a time for bitter weeping, and he refused to be comforted (xxii. 4); but, as he looked out from his watch-tower, he saw no signs of serious and earnest purpose, still less of repentance and amendment. They were entering on the terrible issues of the struggle with Assyria with as light a heart as the Parisians did on the Franco-German war. They were spending, as it were, the night before the battle in the revelry of drunken mirth, as the Saxons spent the night before the battle of Hastings. The whole city was "on the house tops," as though there was some great festivity. When the Lord God was calling "to weeping and to mourning, to baldness and girding with sackcloth," there was "slaying oxen and killing sheep, eating flesh and drinking wine," men saying in their drunken mirth, as with the courage of despair, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." Was there not some terrible purgatory of suffering needed for such a people as this? (xxii. 1-14). If we draw an inference from the suggestive collocation of the two sections, Shebna and his party, the "scornful men" who spoke and acted as if they were in agreement with Hades and had made a covenant with death, were the leaders in this unseemly revelry (xxii. 15-19; xxviii. 15).

It would seem that Isaiah's call to repentance and humiliation, and his solemn announcement of the gravity

of the crisis told, at least, on the mind of Hezekiah, and on that of some of his counsellors, probably on Eliakim and his followers. A change of policy followed, in which we can trace, with hardly the shadow of a doubt, the hand of Isaiah. Sennacherib, after having taken many of the fortified towns of Judah, was laying siege to Lachish, and Hezekiah sent his envoys with overtures for peace. He made the humiliating confession, "I have offended," and placed himself entirely in the king of Assyria's hands as to the amount of the penalty. The conditions of peace imposed by the conqueror were sufficiently hard and crushing. Three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold were to be paid into the Assyrian treasury, and every resource had to be strained to the utmost in order to raise what was relatively so vast a sum. The treasures of the king's house, which he had displayed so exultingly to the ambassadors of Merodach, were soon exhausted. It lies in the nature of the case, that the princes of Judah and the self-made men of wealth like Shebna, would have to contribute largely; even "the silver that was found in the house of the Lord," as the offerings of the people, or deposited there for the sake of security,¹ was seized on for this purpose. The very plates of gold with which the doors and pillars of the temple were overlaid had to be melted down (2 Kings xviii. 13-16).

Was the counsel of which this was the result a wise and patriotic one? Are we justified in ascribing it to Isaiah as consistent with the principles by which he had all along been guided, with the policy which he had all along pursued? We can imagine how the question was answered at the time, the torrent of abuse which was poured on him

¹ The practice was a common one in the case of heathen temples, such, *e.g.* as that of Artemis at Ephesus, and the peculiar phrase, "silver that was found," suggests something different from the sacred vessels, or the temple treasury or offerings.

as having filled in the last drop of the cup of national humiliation, the reproach which must have rested on him as a traitor to his God, his country, and his king, just as like reproaches were heaped afterwards on the head of Jeremiah (Jer. xxxvii. 13). Judging of his conduct as seen in the light by which he himself was guided, and with the dispassionate calmness of history, we can answer those questions unhesitatingly in the affirmative. From Isaiah's standpoint there were two conditions of success for any conflict on which the nation was about to enter. The cause for which it fought must be a righteous one. It must enter on the conflict in a right temper. And in this case he was compelled to confess that neither of the conditions were fulfilled. The cause was not a righteous one. That assertion of independence had been, at least, a blunder.¹ Those abortive negotiations with Egypt, against which he had so strenuously protested, were a crime. And that wild revelry and drunken rollicking defiance, was that the mood of men arming for battle with "deliberate valour"? Were the vainglorious Shebna and his party fit leaders of the people at such a time as this? No; on the grounds of principle, it was right to confess the wrong that had been done, and to accept the punishment. On the ground even of expediency, it was better to wait till the people had been taught wisdom by this discipline of suffering, and had learnt what it is that constitutes the true strength and greatness of a nation. It was well for them that they should "eat of the bread of adversity and the water of affliction," if only they could thus look with open eyes upon

¹ The Assyrian inscriptions throw light on what was the real, or ostensible, *casus belli*, which led to Sennacherib's invasion. The people of Ekron (Sir H. Rawlinson's reading) or Migron (Le Normant) had rebelled against their king Padi, who was "inspired by zeal and friendship for Assyria, and had given him up bound in chains to Hezekiah, king of Judah." One of Sennacherib's acts, coinciding probably with Hezekiah's humiliating submission, was to liberate Padi and restore him to his kingdom. (Le Normant, *Ancient History*, vol. i. p. 899.)

their true teacher, and hear the voice behind them saying "This is the way, walk ye in it" (xxx. 21).

There was, however, still in store for Isaiah what must have seemed the most bitter trial of his life. The policy which he had suggested did not succeed in procuring even an interval of peace, during which Jerusalem might prepare for war. The king, guided by Isaiah, had acted as if he would pay any price for peace, and he paid all that was demanded, and then the haughty conqueror tore up the treaty, and sent his armies to lay siege to Jerusalem, and made his Tartan, or commander-in-chief, his Rabсарis and his Rab-shakeh (the names are clearly official titles, but the precise nature of each office is obscure ¹) the bearers of an insolent message, demanding, with brutal taunts, an unconditional surrender. The details of that embassy are given in three distinct narratives in the Old Testament, with an almost unequalled fulness. The king's ministers, Eliakim now at their head, and Shebna in the subordinate position of a scribe or secretary, go out to the camp of the invader. The Rabshakeh taunts them first with their reliance on the broken reed of Egypt; ² then with their trusting in Jehovah when, judged by the heathen standard that the honour of a God varied according to the number of his sanctuaries, they had been dishonouring Him. As if taunting them with their vain efforts to get chariots and horsemen from Egypt, and with their own weakness in cavalry, he offers, almost in the form of a wager proposed in mockery, to provide two thousand horses if they can find riders for them. Finally, in words at which the envoys

¹ "Chief of the eunuchs" has been suggested for the first, "chief butler" or "chief officer" for the second. There may, possibly, have been a touch of scorn in thus sending civilians, mere court officials, instead of generals, to the impotent State that had dared to defy the great Assyrian king.

² We are reminded of the despatch addressed by Lord Lytton to the unfortunate Shere Ali, warning him, through the apologue of the earthen and brazen vessels, against his trust in a Russian alliance.

shuddered as a blasphemy, he claimed to have entered on his work at the bidding of Jehovah. In vain did they implore him to speak to them in his own language and not in the Hebrew which the townsmen of Jerusalem would understand.¹ In words which have scarcely a parallel in history for their brutal insolence, till we come to Bismarck's letting the Parisians "stew in their own gravy," he threatened the besieged with the most revolting extremity of famine. After the fashion of other invaders, he declared that he had come to attack the king and not the subjects. They had only to submit and pay tribute, and they should for a time have peace and quiet in their own land; and then should in due course, as he added with a mocking heartlessness, be carried off to another land as good as their own or better, "a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards."² Lastly, rushing on in his impiety, he proclaims that his master Sennacherib is above all the gods of the nations, that Jehovah will fall before him as the gods of Hamath and Arphad, of Sepharvaim and Samaria, had fallen. "Where are they now?" he asks, with the implied answer that they with other spoils of war were adorning Assyrian temples. The envoys listened to the blasphemy in silent horror, and coming to the king with their clothes rent, reported what they had heard to him. He, in his turn, rent his clothes, and putting off his kingly robes went into the temple clad in sackcloth. From the temple a sad procession, ministers and the elders of the priests, all clad in sackcloth, wound their way through the streets of Jerusalem, perhaps through the very "valley of vision," to the house of Isaiah.

¹ The words are suggestive as shewing that the statesmen of Jerusalem, and therefore, probably Isaiah also, knew other languages besides that of Canaan. Aramaic would seem to have been then, as Greek was afterwards, the medium of intercourse between the conquerors and the conquered.

² The promise probably had its starting point in the works which Sennacherib had undertaken for the improvement of his provinces,—constructing aqueducts, planting gardens and the like. See *EXPOSITOR* (Second Series), Vol. II. pp. 487 ff.

Strange to say, they found him not disheartened or despondent. He found hope in the very extremity of the evil. In Chapter xxxiii. we have what is obviously a series of meditations written at this crisis, but put together without any systematic order. He sees the "valiant ones" (the men who are as lions of God) "crying without, the ambassadors of peace weeping bitterly," the highways lying waste, the "earth mourning and languishing," Lebanon and Sharon and Bashan and Carmel, the representative examples of grandeur and beauty and fertility, all stripped of their glory (xxxiii. 7, 8). That which gives him hope is that the king of Assyria has now at last put himself unmistakeably in the wrong. He has "broken the covenant," has spoiled and dealt treacherously with those who had not dealt treacherously with him. Isaiah's faith in the law of a righteous retribution made him feel sure with a confidence which he had not felt when he had misgivings as to the wisdom and the rectitude of Hezekiah's policy. The procession which solemnly and sadly entered the courtyard of his house, Eliakim and Shebna, as before, in their new relative positions of chief and subordinate, priests whose sins Isaiah had so often reproved, all coming to him as their one resource, their solitary hope—this was a proof that at last the people had come to see their teachers, and to hang upon the words of one whom they had before derided and despised. The sneers of "line upon line," "precept upon precept" were heard no longer. Schemes of policy had proved, in the most literal sense of the word, abortive. The "children were come to the birth and there was not strength to bring forth." In words that shewed how deeply Isaiah's favourite phrase had impressed itself upon his mind, Hezekiah implored the prophet to "lift up his prayer for the remnant that was left." The prophet's answer was oracular and brief. He is sure that there will be deliverance, but the method of that deliverance is not yet revealed to

him. Through natural, or it may be supernatural, sources of information, he had learnt that the armies of Egypt, though slow to move, were at last mobilized. "Rahab" was no longer "sitting still." The march of Tirhakah, the greatest king of the Ethiopian dynasty, was heralded by vague rumours (xxxvii. 9). In them Isaiah saw what was likely to act as a diversion, and draw Sennacherib and his generals to another basis of operations. The prophet's augury was in part fulfilled. Sennacherib raised the siege of Lachish and attacked Libnah.¹ Before he took this step he sent yet another message to Hezekiah, more insolent and impious, if possible, than the first. No gods of all the nations round had been able to deliver them. What ground was there for thinking that Jehovah would be the solitary exception?

The daring impiety of the Assyrian king had the effect of rousing Hezekiah to the full heroism of faith. In the fullest sense of the words, he "cast his burden upon the Lord." In solemn procession—this lies in the nature of the case—at the head of his ministers and court, all probably in sackcloth, he went into the temple, with the blasphemous letter in his hand, and prayed to "the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel that dwelleth between the Cherubim." Other gods were the work of men's hands, wood and stone, but He whom Sennacherib had reproached was the living God. Would He not arise and save his people from the hand of the destroyer, that all the kingdoms of the earth might know that He, Jehovah, was only and alone the God?

To that prayer Isaiah, as soon as he heard of its purport from the messengers whom Hezekiah sent to him, and while

¹ The two cities appear to have been no distant neighbours, and both within the tribe of Judah (Josh. x. 29; xv. 42). M. Oppert, however, identifies this Libnah with the Egyptian city Pelusium. This would, of course, imply a more entire alteration of the strategy of the campaign, but the identification is somewhat conjectural.

the king was yet kneeling in supplication in the temple, returned the answer which yet rings through the centuries in the unapproachable greatness of its thoughts and language. I need not reproduce here what every reader can find in his Bible. I will not rob it of its majesty by any attempt at paraphrasing or abridging it. It will not, however, I believe, be without interest to note how, even in this hour of transcendent inspiration, Isaiah does not lose one jot or tittle of his intense individuality—how words and phrases which characterized the prophecies of his early manhood reappear in this, which was, in one sense, the last public utterance of his old age. He had spoken of old of the “virgin daughter of Sidon” who had been ravished by the conqueror (xxiii. 12). Now he uses the same phrase of the virgin daughter of Zion who was to defy the ravisher (xxxvii. 22). He dwells as throughout his teaching on the name of the Holy One of Israel (xxxvii. 23). The cedars and the fir-trees of Lebanon, and the forests of Carmel, are still with him the symbols of the beauty and fertility of the land which the invader had come to ravage (xxxvii. 24; xxxiii. 9; xxxv. 2). As before in the case of Sargon or Tiglath-Pileser, he had reminded the mighty king that he was but as the axe, the rod, the staff in the hands of the great Workmaster (x. 15), so now he reminds Sennacherib, as in the words of Jehovah, “Hast thou not heard long ago how I have done it, and of ancient times that I have formed it, now have I brought it to pass that thou shouldest be to lay waste fenced cities into ruinous heaps” (xxxvii. 26). As he had before painted the judicial infatuation of the enemies of Israel—“there shall be a bridle in the jaws of the people causing them to err” (xxx. 28)—so now Jehovah tells Sennacherib, “I will put my hook in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou camest” (xxxvii. 29). As he had offered Ahaz a sign either in the heavens above or in the earth beneath

(vii. 11), and had given Hezekiah a sign in the bringing back of the shadow on the sun-dial of Ahaz (xxxviii. 8), so now he offers a sign to meet the fears of Hezekiah that Sennacherib might yet return at the head of a more powerful army. That year the people must depend on what the invaders had left of standing corn and other fruits of the field. The next year, as there was no longer any time for tillage, they would have to fall back on the scanty harvest that might spring from what was left, but there should be no fresh invasion, and when the third year began, two years from the date at which Isaiah spoke, the country should recover from its distress, and men should once more "sow and reap and plant vineyards and eat the fruits thereof" (xxxvii. 30). In promising that sign with the full assurance of faith, he tested the faith of Hezekiah as he had before tested the faith of Ahaz, but, as might have been expected, with a widely different result. If the king accepted that sign, he would abstain from all plans of foreign alliances, with Egypt or with Babylon, and would "wait still upon God." Still more striking, as the echo of his earliest utterances, were the words that followed. The name of Shear-Jashub (whether that son were now living or dead we do not know) was still fresh in his memory as a Divine omen. "The *remnant* that is escaped of the house of Judah shall again take root downward and bear fruit upward. . . . Out of Jerusalem shall go forth a *remnant*, and they that escape out of mount Zion" (xxxvii. 31, 32). He closes his great prophecy with the same formula of solemn asseveration as that which he had used fifty years before, "The zeal of the Lord of hosts shall do this" (xxxvii. 32; ix. 7). What the method of deliverance was to be was, it would appear, not revealed to him, but of the fact of the deliverance he had no doubt. And it came in a way in which he could recognize nothing else than the hand of God. A modern historian might have described the

material phenomena, dysentery or some other form of epidemic disease, such as has often, in all ages, turned the fortunes of a campaign, spreading rapidly, aggravated, as seems probable, by atmospheric conditions, which brought on a fearful thunderstorm (xxx. 30), culminating in the horrors of that dread night which slew more than would have fallen in a long day's battle. To the prophet-poet who had learnt that "the winds were as God's angels and the flaming fire his ministers" (Ps. civ. 4), it was nothing less than the sword of the Angel of Jehovah, which David had seen when the pestilence fell upon his people (2 Sam. xxiv. 16). So he would have said of the defeat of the Armada as Elizabeth said, *Afflavit Deus et dissipantur inimici*, or of Napoleon's terrible retreat from Moscow, "He sendeth forth his ice like morsels; who is able to abide his frost?" (Ps. cxlvii. 17). The dawn of that next day was for the inhabitants of Jerusalem, as they awoke "early in the morning," a time of deliverance almost awful in its suddenness. The few that remained of the vast Assyrian host beat a hasty retreat. Sennacherib felt that he could not proceed further in that campaign, and did not venture on another, but returned to occupy himself with building palaces at Nineveh till eighteen years¹ later he was assassinated, apparently during a solemn ceremonial, by his sons Adrammelech and Sharezer. The fulfilment of Isaiah's predicted sign as to the tillage of the next two years became the earnest of his prediction that the danger from Assyria, as far as Sennacherib was concerned, was over.

According to the rectified chronology which I have been led to follow this was the last public act of the prophet's life of which we have any record. Later Jewish tradition reports, and the facts reported are in themselves probable enough, that on the accession of Manasseh, he protested

¹ The interval between the retreat and death of Sennacherib is determined by the Assyrian inscriptions. (Le Normant's *Ancient History*, vol. i. p. 404.)

with all the energy of his early manhood, and with all the authority of age, against the idolatries into which the young king threw himself with a frantic eagerness, that for so doing he was condemned to death, and that he was sawn asunder. To that tradition we have probably a reference in Heb. xi. 37. In this dearth of recorded facts it may be allowable to picture to ourselves some at least of the incidents of Isaiah's closing years, and to consider how they bore upon his character and life.

The retreat of Sennacherib's army obviously gave Hezekiah, in the eyes of the surrounding nations, the prestige of having defeated him. He became a king whose alliance was worth courting. But for the difficulties already stated in connexion with the chronology of Assyria, Merodach-Baladan's embassy might have seemed to follow on this reported victory, the congratulations on the king's recovery from sickness being hardly more than an ostensible pretext. In any case tributes and gifts came from many quarters, and the treasury which he had emptied to pay the indemnity demanded by Assyria was again filled, and he had exceeding much riches and honour, and the land was fertile and new storehouses were built for "the increase of corn and wine and oil, and stalls for all manner of beasts and cotes for flocks" (2 Chron. xxxii. 27-29). There seemed a fresh rush of prosperity like that of the days of Uzziah and Solomon. Could Isaiah look upon that prosperity with unmixed satisfaction? The answer must, alas! be in the negative. The old hereditary taint, the inborn sin of kings, began to shew itself. Not all the discipline of his life had availed to teach Hezekiah the full lesson of humility. The words in which the Chronicler speaks of the conclusion of his reign imply that he began to think with insufficient gratitude of Jehovah and of his prophet: "He rendered not again according to the benefit done unto him, for his heart was lifted up; therefore there was wrath

upon him and upon Judah and Jerusalem (2 Chron. xxxii. 25). There came it is true, at the close, another partial or complete repentance, and when he died, he received greater funeral honours than any of his predecessors, and was "buried in the chiefest of the sepulchres of the sons of David" (2 Chron. xxxii. 33), but it is not the less true that the closing period of his reign must have been to Isaiah a time of keen disappointment; that there was some unrecorded disaster which promised ill for the future; that Isaiah and other teachers of the truth were once more "removed into a corner." Nor could Isaiah look to the growth of his successor with much hopefulness. With the cessation of the peril which for a time had enabled Isaiah to be, as it were, the master of the situation, the party in opposition to him, of which Shebna was the head, naturally regained their prominence, and ministered after their manner to the king's passion for material wealth and greatness. Hezekiah, marrying apparently comparatively late in life¹ (his heir was only twelve when he succeeded him), yielded himself to the harem influences, which had always been fatal to purity of faith and worship. It is in the nature of the case, that there could not have been so complete a reversal of the religious policy of Hezekiah on

¹ The dates fix the marriage of Hezekiah after an interval of two years from the recovery from his illness, when he was forty-one years old. His wife's name was Hephzibah. The occurrence of that name in Isa. lxii. 4, where the prophet says to Jerusalem, "Thy name shall be called Hephzibah" (=my delight is in her), in connexion with the thought of the mystic marriage of Jehovah with his people, suggests the idea that the prophet may have taken Hezekiah's wedding as the starting point of his allusive allegory. It adds to the force of the coincidence that the name "Forsaken" (Heb. Azubah), which was to be changed into Hephzibah, was that of the mother of Jehoshaphat (1 Kings xxii. 42). The name Manasseh (=forgetting) may have been suggested for Hezekiah's heir partly as a recognition of the partial return of that tribe to its allegiance to the house of David, partly as significant of an "amnesty" for all past offences. The absence of any record of Hephzibah's parentage suggests the inference that she herself was a stranger to Judah, and possibly a native of the tribe after which her son was named, and that this may explain, in part, the tendency to idolatry which shewed itself in her degenerate son.

the accession of the boy-king, if he had not been surrounded by counsellors who, while they had conformed to that policy outwardly, had in their hearts been looking back to the days of Ahaz as a better model for imitation. Now, as before, they were intolerant of those who were always talking to them of the Holy One of Israel, and threw themselves with a zeal which was half fanaticism and half fashion into a multiform and confluent idolatry (2 Chron. xxxiii. 1-10). The evils that had accompanied the magnificence of Solomon followed hard upon that of the later years of Hezekiah, in which he seemed to be reviving the extent and the majesty of the Salomonic empire. A devout king like Hezekiah, with Isaiah's ideal visions floating before him as already within his reach, might flatter himself that this acknowledgment of the suzerainty of Judah, these tributary or congratulatory visits from many nations, would be a means of converting them to the worship of Jehovah,—might look forward to the time when the priests of Jehovah should say in his name, "Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance" (xix. 25). The sons of Korah might celebrate the admission of such proselytes by a hymn specially written for the purpose, dwelling in the very phrases of Isaiah on the admission of proselytes from Rahab (=Egypt) and Babylon, from Philistia and Tyre and Ethiopia on the census roll of the newborn citizens of Zion (Ps. lxxxvii.); but Isaiah had lived to see the transitoriness of such visions, and by the strange irony of history, every abomination that could be imported from the "children of strangers" once again found a home in Judah. Altars for Baalim and the Asherah (the "groves," as before, of the Authorized Version) and the hosts of heaven, were seen in every street of Jerusalem, and even in the very courts of the temple; in the very sanctuary where there was to be no form or similitude, there was the

obscene symbol of a phallic *cultus*; the valley of Hinnom re-echoed once again with the noise of drums and the cries of infants and parents' tears; and the wizards with "familiar spirits," who had from the first been the objects of Isaiah's antipathy and scorn, "peeped and muttered" as of old (2 Chron. xxxiii. 3-7; Isa. viii. 19). We have no record of any direct action on the part of Isaiah in protesting against these evils. Age probably prevented this. But in the course of his long life, he had trained many disciples who now acted as his mouthpiece, and, either before or after his death, ultimately not without effect (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11-18), reproduced his teaching. Once again the people heard of the "line" and the "plummet," emphasized now as "the line of Samaria" and the "plummet of the house of Ahab," which were the symbols of deliberate and complete destruction (2 Kings xxi. 13; Isa. xxxiv. 11); of the "remnant" not as yet cleansed from evil, and therefore needing still the sharp pruning knife of tribulation (2 Kings xxi. 14; Isa. vi. 13). The prophets who thus bore their witness had to be martyrs in the fullest sense of the word, and for the first time since the days of Jezebel and Jehu the pages of the history of Israel were stained with the record of a persecution in which much "innocent blood" was shed. And punishment followed hard upon the sin. The son of Hezekiah had to appear at Babylon, not as an honoured ally of Merodach-Baladan or his successor, but, like Ahaz at Damascus before Tiglath-Pileser, as a vassal prince, a conquered rebel, bound in fetters, submitting to an abject humiliation before Esarhaddon, the successor of Sennacherib, and so fulfilling the predictions which Isaiah had uttered when that ill-omened alliance was in contemplation (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11; Isa. xxxix. 7). It is in the nature of things probable that, if this was the portion of the king himself, the words of the prophet may have had a literal fulfilment for other princes

of the royal house, and that there may have been sons of Hezekiah, serving, as Shadrach and Meshach and Abed-nego did afterwards, as eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon (Isa. xxxix. 7).¹ The conversion of Manasseh after this humiliation had done its work lies, of course, outside the limits of a biography of Isaiah, but it is worth noting, as a probable instance of the effect of the prophet's teaching, perhaps also as an answer to a prayer like that of Stephen. The prayer of Manasseh, as we now have it, is probably in every sense of the word, apocryphal; but it appears as taking the place of one which was actually written, and which was at the time thought as worthy of remembrance as that of Hezekiah, and as such found a place in the short volume of "the visions of the seers" by one of Isaiah's disciples (2 Chron. xxxiii. 18, 19).

The very absence of any record of Isaiah's death in the Old Testament is, it may be noted, singularly suggestive. He was one of the crowd that perished, perhaps by frequent individual executions, perhaps in a massacre like that of Jezreel or St. Bartholomew. In words which the prophet may have written with the fate of the earlier victims before his eyes, it was true of him, as of them, that "the righteous perish and that no man taketh it to heart." For him at least there was the consoling thought that the righteous was "taken away from the evil to come" (lvii. 1). The "sons of the sorceress, the seed of the adulterer and the whore," might use mocking gestures and speak derisive words, but for him it was true that "he should enter into peace." And if we are right in this application of the

¹ The fact may furnish a possible explanation of the singular prominence given in Isa. lvi. 4, to the blessedness of the faithful eunuchs who kept the sabbaths of Jehovah, and chose the things that pleased Him. Might not the promise that He would give them in his house "a place and a name better than of sons and of daughters," be a word of comfort for those who were reduced to what every Israelite regarded as the most wretched and humiliating form of bondage?

opening words of this section of Isaiah's later utterances, may we not see in what follows a glance of hope, a word of comfort, even for his persecutor. "For the iniquity of his covetousness I was wroth, and smote him: I hid me and he was wroth, and he went on frowardly in the way of his heart. I have seen his ways and will heal him: I will lead him also, and restore comfort to him and his mourners" (lvii. 17, 18).

We have to ask what under these conditions were the occupations and the thoughts of the closing years of the prophet's life. The answer to that enquiry must form the subject of a separate paper, which will involve, if not a full yet, at least, a partial, discussion of the questions connected with the arrangement of the first volume of his writings, and the authorship of the second. We shall have to ask by whom and on what principles the former were, in modern phrase, collected and edited, and whether the book which carries the spirit and thoughts of Hebrew prophecy to their highest point, was the work of Isaiah himself or of a "great Unknown."

E. H. PLUMPTRE.

NOTE ON ST. LUKE xi. 41.

I HAVE often wondered that among the numerous comments on the New Version this verse has escaped notice. At last I find mention of it in the EXPOSITOR (Vol. iii. p. 260); but again I wonder at the terms of it. In my view both the Old and New Versions call equally for correction; the first misconstruing the words, the second missing the construction; while the multiplicity of discordant explanations invites criticism. The key to the sentence is the recognition of an idiom far from uncommon; a grammatical anacoluthon, by which the proper governing verb is exchanged for an equivalent and explanatory phrase, while its subject becomes a *nominativus* or *accusativus pendens*.

I begin with a few plain instances out of many. 1. Euripides, *Bacch.*, 1289, λέγ', ὡς τὸ μέλλον—καρδία πρήδημ' ἔχει, i.e. Speak, for I dread what is coming next.

Instead of the simple verb *I dread* is substituted *my heart is leaping*. The idiom may be preserved or at least represented in our language by inserting *as*. "*As to what is coming next, my heart leaps with terror.*"

2. Euripides, *Troades*, 60, ἐς οἶκτον ἦλθες takes the construction of ᾤκτισας.

3. Theocritus, xxiv. 110, ὅσσα . . . ἀλλάλους σφάλλοντι παλαίσμασι, i.e. whatever tricks the athletes devise to throw each other in wrestling. ὅσσα in strict grammar should be followed by ἐξεύροντο σοφίσματα which does occur lower down.

4. Thucydides, vii. 80, καὶ αὐτοῖς οἶον φιλεῖ καὶ πᾶσι στρατοπέδοις . . . ἐμπίπτει παραγή. An infinitive here must of course follow φιλεῖ. One would expect ἐμπίπτειν. But instead of it is supplied φόβοι καὶ δέσματα ἐγγίγνεσθαι.

5. *Ibid.*, iii. 12, ὃ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις μάλιστα εὖνοια πίστιν βεβαιοὶ ἡμῖν τοῦτο ὁ φόβος ἐχυρὸν παρέιχε. πίστιν βεβαιοὶ interrupts the grammatical form of the sentence; it is a descriptive phrase substituted for παρέχει or ἐχυρὸν παρέχει.

See also ii. 40, 4 of the same author, and Arnold's note.

6. Epistle to the Romans viii. 3. "What the law could not do . . . God . . . condemned sin in the flesh." The Authorized Versions, at the cost of some harshness, represent the literal Greek. But the natural form of construction requires the verb

did. What the law could not do God did: viz. He condemned sin.
 . . . The simple governing verb is exchanged for an explanatory periphrasis, expressing the end or effect of what He did.

7. Epistle to the Philippians ii. 12. *καθὼς ὑπακούσατε* would naturally be followed by *ὑπακούετε*; but, instead of it, we have the special form of *ὑπακοή* expressed, scil. *μετὰ φόβου . . . σωτηρίαν κατεργάζεσθε*.

I think these instances are enough to prove the principle, and to support the translation which I shall presently propose as at least admissible. My objection to the old rendering is that, without questioning how near *τὰ ἔντονα* may be brought to the meaning of *τὰ ὑπάρχοντα* by force of context and connexion, the actual connexion here restrains the word to its first and most proper sense. This verse is pointedly connected with St. Matthew xxiii. 26: no parallel can be more direct. Compare the whole passage, and then the single phrase. In St. Matthew it is, *καθάρισον τὸ ἐντός*. In St. Luke *τὰ ἔντονα δότε ἐλεημοσύνην*—the phrase *δότε ἐλ.* is substituted for *καθαρίσατε*. And this after a context which in each Evangelist turns upon the emphatic sense of *ἔξωθεν* and *ἔσωθεν*. So that to divert *τὰ ἔντονα* to a secondary meaning misses the point of the exhortation as well as the spiritual application, and is faulty equally in logic and in doctrine.

My objection to the Revised Version is that it is not, strictly speaking, intelligible: it is "construing through a brick wall." *Those things which are within* can mean nothing but the heart and its secret motives and affections. These are not alms=material gifts, though they may pour themselves out in them. I offer a version which preserves the meaning, and satisfies the construction. *But as to what is within, give alms; and behold all things are clean unto you.* Give alms is=cleanse the within by alms. Practise charity: alms are one form of charity and may stand for it. Charity is=purity. Read in this way the two passages throw a mutual light, the light of broad deep truth.

Compare an analogous instance in this very Chapter of St. Luke, Verse 13, with St. Matthew vii. 11. The statement in St. Matthew is general—*shall give good things*; the parallel passage, without excluding any good, directs the learner to the highest good of all, *the Holy Spirit*.

J. E. YONGE.

BRIEF NOTICES.

THE LIFE-EDUCATION AND WIDER CULTURE OF THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY, by J. S. Wilson, M.A. (Edinburgh: Blackwoods). There can be no doubt that in the critical period which ensues after men have left their College or University, to commence their ministry as pastors and teachers of the Word, they sadly need some definite guidance in the studies which they ought to pursue and the aims which it behoves them to set before them. And, at first, we hoped that Mr. Wilson, who recognizes and deplors the lack of any work which supplies that guidance, might himself have supplied the lack which he has been keen enough to detect. But as he contents himself with mere generalities, and simply recommends young ministers to acquaint themselves with the whole round of literature ancient and modern, home and foreign, sacred, classical, and scientific, and to study the work and history of the Church in their own parish, their own district, their own denomination, and in all other denominations at home and abroad, we doubt whether they can hope to find in these Lectures the definite guidance they need, however carefully they may seek it. We regret that no other conclusion is possible to us; for Mr. Wilson evidently has a deep sense of the need he attempts to meet, and would gladly supply it if he could. He writes a good style too, and shews many traits of reading and refinement; but he has a terrible gift of amplification. All that he has to say might have been packed into a tenth of its present compass; and even then we fear that, for lack of definiteness, it would have been of little value to the specific class to which he addresses himself. He has indicated a real and pressing want, however; and happy will be the man who meets it.

We are glad to observe that Rev. W. H. Lyttleton's translation of *Godel's* masterly *Studies on the Old Testament* (London: Hodder and Stoughton) has passed into a second edition.

ERRATUM IN THE MARCH No.

In Mr. Watts's article, p. 240, l. 4, for LXX. read L X.

ST. JAMES ON TEMPTATION.

JAMES i. 9, 10.

FIRST PART.

THESE words have given commentators a great deal of trouble. I am not quite sure that the context throws any very clear and decisive light upon them; indeed the context is rather favourable to an interpretation which the words repel: but, however this may be, the context must be considered, and it is worth considering for its own sake.

In the first twelve verses of his Epistle—perhaps I ought to say in the first seventeen or eighteen—James is illustrating the Christian idea of the moral and religious difficulties of human life. They are “temptations”—for sometimes they make it very hard to be loyal to God; sometimes they make us distrust his love; sometimes they provoke us to impatience and resentment; sometimes they lead us to surrender almost unconsciously the diviner ideals of life; sometimes they break our courage and we consciously, under the plea of necessity, decline from the path of duty because it appears too steep, too rugged, and too perilous. They might, perhaps, be described still more accurately as “trials;” for they test our moral and religious fidelity, and determine for us the measure of our strength; they reveal weakness where we had not suspected it; and sometimes they give us the proof and assurance of a constancy and firmness which we feared that we did not possess.

But they are more than “temptations;” they are more than “trials.” Else, why should we “count it all joy” when we fall into them? If they were only “tempta-

tions"—opportunities and inducements to sin—we might meet them with firmness and courage as being among the inevitable evils incident to the moral disorder of the world and our own imperfection, but to find any "joy" in them would be impossible. To an upright and truthful man the bare suggestion, however it comes to him, that he should act dishonestly, or tell a lie, is an insult and an injury. A kindly and generous man is conscious of a sharp pain if the mere thought of committing an act of cruelty enters his mind and finds a momentary lodgment there. To a pure man a temptation to any sensual sin taints the air; it inspires disgust and loathing; when it has passed away, it leaves something like a stain on his memory, although he made no movement in response to it, but repelled it and recoiled from it as soon as it approached. Mere "temptations" can never be a reason for joy even if we overcome them, any more than an epidemic of small-pox or typhoid though we escape infection.

Nor can "trials"—if they are "trials" and nothing more—give us any great reason for thanksgiving and delight. It is a satisfaction, perhaps, to know that we are strong, but the strain upon our strength by which we learn it may be a heavy price to pay for the knowledge; and, too often, the "trials" discover weakness instead of strength. We want another word to describe the moral difficulties of our condition which are sometimes called "trials" and sometimes "temptations;" and the fit word, so far as I know, has never been created. It will not be created until the idea which it would express has taken more complete possession of the mind and heart of the Church. An iron railway-bridge is no stronger after its strength has been tried by running a dozen heavy trains over it than it was before. A gun-barrel is no stronger when it comes from the proof-house, and has had its strength tried by being with four or five times its proper charge, than it was

before. But, according to James, the "trials" which test our faith strengthen it; the temptations which assault our integrity confirm it. If we master the "temptation," we do not merely escape from the sin to which we were tempted, we obtain a positive increase of righteousness. If we bear the strain which the "trial" brings upon our strength, we are the stronger for it. "*The proof of our faith worked patience;*" and patience is not a merely passive virtue; it is an energetic persistence in Christian righteousness. If this "patience" has its "perfect work," if it never gives away, if every temptation is resisted, if every strain of trial is borne without yielding, then the Christian character becomes complete at every point; we are "*perfect and entire, lacking in nothing.*" As Robert Browning says, the "stumbling block" is a "stepping-stone" to a higher perfection.

But if there is to be this completeness of Christian life and character, the "temptations," the "trials," must be "*manifold.*" The more varied are the moral difficulties of life, the more complete is the discipline. The strain must come upon one muscle after another if there is to be a perfect development of moral vigour—if, as James puts it, we are to be "*lacking in nothing.*" The strength of every separate element of Christian righteousness must be tried, and tried by various tests. The courage which is unmoved by one form of danger may be daunted by another. The patience which submits without a murmur to familiar suffering may be changed by a new sorrow into angry resentment. The Christian charity which has kept its sweetness through many cruel persecutions may at last be suddenly embittered by some fresh outrage; if it is to reach the perfection which "beareth all things" and "endureth all things," it must shew to those who are guilty of the last offence the same gentleness and forbearance that it had shewn to all who had wronged it before.

This is the Christian explanation of the vicissitudes of

human life. With the changing years there are changes in the moral environment which is the discipline of our perfection ; and every change brings with it some new " trial," some new " temptation "—the possibility of some discovery of moral weakness which had not been suspected before, and of some development of moral energy which had before been latent. The successive transitions from the nursery to the larger life of the family, from the family to the school, from the school to business or to the University, are successive and varied " trials " of the character and temper of the child, the boy, the young man. The spirit of obedience is tried by the authority of parents and teachers. Self-reliance and our individual loyalty to conscience and to God are tried by the gradual relaxation of the restraints of our early years and the personal freedom which is the perilous inheritance of manhood. We are tried by the loving devotion of those who are about us—perhaps we discover that we are destitute of that nice sense of honour which ought to prevent us from abusing their lavish and unmeasured affection, and that we are permitting them to sacrifice all their own pleasures and interests to ours. We are tried by their coldness—perhaps we learn that we are unlike God, and that we cannot give love unless we receive it. We are tried by their sweetness and gentleness—perhaps we detect a certain reckless indifference to the comfort and wishes of those who never assert their own claims. We are tried by their self-assertion—perhaps it provokes us to a self-assertion as ungracious and un-Christian as that which, in their conduct, we justly condemn.

With the gradual expansion of our intellectual life, the growth of new intellectual interests, the increasing concentration of our force on the great objects of life, changes of which we are almost unconscious pass upon our character, spirit, and temper ; and these involve new trials, which are

sometimes of a very painful kind. We seem estranged from old friends for whom we still retain a strong affection. They become less interesting to us. *We* seem to become less interesting to *them*. Once they used to pass freely from one province of our thought to another without hindrance; they were at home in every region of our mind; all our interests were theirs; all our sorrows and all our joys. But we discover by slight indications, which their affection tries in vain to conceal, that there is now a large part of our life which is as strange to them as a foreign country; they are ill at ease when they are with us unless our conversation is confined to topics for which we have almost ceased to care; and when we speak of these they see that our heart is far away. Or changes of this kind have passed upon *them*, and it is we who make the discovery that our friends are not what they once were. Or the change has been both in them and us. We have parted like ships at the mouth of the river; in youth we had sailed down the stream together and vowed eternal fidelity; but now that we have reached the ocean our courses divide; they sail towards the north star, and we strike for the tropics. Then comes a sense of injury; and then there is mutual resentment; there are unspoken recriminations, breaking out at last into pathetic and angry complaints. To each of the severed friends it seems that all the loss and suffering are on his own side, and all the wrong on the other; but the loss and the suffering are on both sides, and perhaps there is wrong on neither. It is only in natures of rare wealth that all the past can remain side by side with all the new acquisitions and interests of later years; and even when this takes place, earlier friendships are not always happy and secure. For we are hardly content to share only a part of the life of our friend whose whole life was once our own. That the old rooms in the house with their homely furniture are still open to us does not content us,

we know that the galleries which he has enriched with treasures of art, with rare pictures and costly gems, the libraries which he has filled with the learning of many ages and many lands, are necessarily closed to us because we are unable to appreciate them. In these days when in town after town the means of attaining a liberal education are being extended to all classes of the people, when in great public libraries the poorest have access to the most splendid monuments of genius, this severance of the intimacies of early friendship is becoming more and more frequent. It is one of the "trials," one of the "temptations," incident to the new conditions of our social life. It tries the strength of some of the most generous forms of goodness, and whoever passes through the trial successfully rises to a new height of magnanimity.

But the illustrations of this principle are endless. Reverses of fortune which result in the loss of the luxuries, perhaps of the comforts, to which we had been long accustomed, to which perhaps we were born, are among the sharpest "trials" of faith, and are, therefore, among those severe but kindly elements of discipline by which Christian righteousness is perfected. Sickness and pain, whether suffered by ourselves or by those whom we love; the death of children, of parents, of husbands, of wives, of friends, are "trials" of another kind. The follies and sins of those whose shame is our shame and whose guilt seems to cloud our own conscience, are also "trials"—not troubles merely, but tests of our likeness to Christ, who not only bore our griefs and carried our sorrows, but was "wounded for our transgressions," "bruised for our iniquities," and on whom the Lord "laid the iniquity of us all." If in that supreme agony our faith does not faint, if even then patience has its perfect work, we may hope to be "*perfect and entire, lacking in nothing.*"

We may be "tried" by riches as well as by poverty; by

health and strength prolonged through many years as well as by sickness ; by public honour as well as by slander and unmerited censure ; by appointment to an office of high responsibility and carrying with it public distinction as well as by unmerited dismissal from it ; by the fulfilment of our brightest hopes as well as by the catastrophes which quench them ; by the ease of our life as well as its hardships ; by its unbroken peace and untroubled security as well as by the perils which shake the heart with fear. Many a man who has nobly stood the test of sorrow and loss has failed when the dark and evil days have passed by and his life is bright with joy. We are not accustomed to describe our successes, our prosperous fortunes, the sources of our flowing happiness, as "trials"; but by these, too, God may "prove thee, to know what is in thine heart," and whether thou wilt keep his commandments or no. These, too, may bring us discoveries of moral weakness and defect with which we had never charged ourselves. These, too, may be necessary to provoke into activity elements of righteousness which are wanting in alertness and vigour. They are among the "manifold" trials which contribute to Christian perfection. That we never think of them as trials may suggest to us the exceptional danger to which they expose us. They do not alarm us, and therefore do not excite us to vigilance and compel us to invoke that Divine defence and support which, even in times apparently most free from peril, can alone give us perfect safety. Happy are those who can see the eternal stars in the sunlight as well as in the darkness ; to whom all that is fairest in this visible world is the revelation of the glory of divine and eternal things ; to whom the common gifts of God's providence are the symbols and sacraments of the better gifts of his grace ; to whom a life unvexed by care and illuminated with gladness is the discipline for an endless life in God.

Our "trials" in the sense in which James uses the word never cease on this side of death. Or, rather, perhaps I should say that they never cease unless the growth of our moral and spiritual life is arrested. There are some Christian people who seem to live their life without effort. In past years they may have had their perplexities, their conflicts, their endeavours to rise to a loftier righteousness; but now the necessity for fresh and active energy has passed by; they are moving along a path which lies high up on the mountain-side, but the path seems a level one and they make no ascent. Their habits are fixed. Their conceptions of the ideal of Christian perfection are no larger, no loftier, this year than last. The "commandment" though "exceeding broad," is no broader this year than last. The measures of their actual righteousness are the same, or apparently the same, this year as last. I say "apparently," for it may be doubted whether a stationary condition is really possible. The habits which were formed when their life was all a-glow may remain; but the invisible fires may be gradually sinking. It may seem to them that the path along which they are travelling, though it does not bring them nearer to the summit of the mountain, is a level one; but, perhaps, there is reason to fear a gradual descent.

In any case, it has been justly observed, that "Habit is not necessarily *Christian* goodness. . . . Habit is merely the tendency to remain what we are, to go on doing what we have done, to acquire a facility of operation in given circumstances. Unless a living germ of progress is in you, all that Habit will do for you is to enable you to keep your present *status* with less effort—that is, to become more and more mechanical."¹ For real growth in goodness there must be incessant effort. Day after day we must be reaching forward to something we have not yet attained.

¹ See a profoundly suggestive sermon on Self-Denial, in the remarkable volume by John Hamilton Thom, "Laws of Life after the Mind of Christ."

The degree of righteousness which we achieved with difficulty a year ago, is achieved with ease to-day; but this imposes on us the obligation to attempt what a year ago was impossible to us.

Life, from first to last, is a perpetual "trial," and the "trial" is perpetually varied. In the school of God there are no vacations. His "mercies are new every morning;" on our part there should be a new depth of trust and a new rapture of praise. We have more to thank Him for to-day than we had yesterday; our thankfulness should be inspired with more intense passion. We are nearer heaven to-day than we were yesterday; our hope should rise to diviner heights, and there should be a more exulting joy in the prospect of going to the blessed home of God. If our environment remains the same, we ourselves have changed; and, with the change in ourselves, our environment becomes a new test of our fidelity to God. We should, therefore, be thankful for long life, and for the discipline—painful as it must sometimes be—which extends from youth to manhood, and from manhood to old age. We should count it all joy that the "temptations," the "trials" of life are "manifold"; for every one of them may add to us some new element of force, some new touch of grace and beauty. The development of Christian righteousness is the Divine end of human life; when we accept that end, its sorrows and its joys alike will have a new aspect and a new meaning. The transitory delights and the transitory sufferings of this mortal condition, will then alike contribute to the wealth of our eternal blessedness, and the splendour of our eternal glory.

R. W. DALE.

**WESTCOTT AND HORT'S GREEK TESTAMENT
AS A COMMENTARY.**

AMID the multitude of criticisms on the merits of the Revised Version as a translation, one fact seems to be almost universally recognised—that *as a Commentary* it is invaluable. While the English reader misses the old familiar phrases and the exquisite rhythm of the Authorized Version, and is perpetually startled and repelled by some awkward or even uncouth rendering which the stern fidelity of the revisers has ruthlessly forced upon us, he is yet quite as often charmed at finding some hitherto hidden beauty of the Original brought forth into light, and delighted with the discovery that a passage, which till now had been perplexing or unintelligible, has become plain, straightforward, and pregnant with meaning. And so it seems as if gradually there was being brought about a general consensus of opinion on the part of thoughtful men with regard to the merits of the Version; and it is probable that the verdict finally returned will be something approaching to this: that it fails as a translation, but is strong as a Commentary. A simple text, without note or comment, and yet recommended for its merits *as a Commentary*! This seems a strange paradox at first, but it is no new one. More than two centuries ago Thomas Fuller noted in his *Church History* that “a good translation is an excellent comment on the Bible;”¹ and it is said that the late Dr. Routh, when requested to name the best Commentary on the New Testament, replied, “On the whole, the Vulgate.” Perhaps if this were more largely realized, and if people would only learn to make the Bible its own commentary, and study *it*, instead of perplexing themselves with a multitude of books about the Bible, there would be less of the shallowness and more thoroughness of grasp of the truth and

¹ *Church History*, vol. iii. p. 247.

meaning of Revelation than, it is to be feared, at present exists among us. For English readers, then, the Revised Version may safely be recommended as the best Commentary. For those however who can read the New Testament in the original language there is a still better one. Even more valuable than the Versions (and far be it from me to depreciate the inestimable value of the Vulgate, and, for the Old Testament, of the Septuagint) is a critical edition of the Greek text itself. Armed with this, and with a good Grammar, Lexicon, and Concordance at his elbow, the student is, to a great extent, independent of commentators, and can discover for himself what the Sacred Record really says, and, in most cases, what is the natural meaning of the words. He will, of course, never be *entirely* independent of the works of commentators; and I for one owe so deep a debt of gratitude to them that I would not for one moment be thought to despise or cast a slur upon them. Difficult passages will frequently come before him, in which he will have recourse to their aid; but he will only consult the Commentary when he has first discovered the difficulty for himself, and will not (as so many do) find the difficulty first created for him and suggested by the Commentary: and thus he will more thoroughly appropriate and make his own what he finds therein. "I don't only know it, *I have found it out*," said James Hinton, when he had worked out for himself some great truth, which hitherto he had only accepted on the testimony of others. And exactly so in Biblical study; that which we have discovered for ourselves is far more really our own and more completely assimilated than what we find ready to hand, and take cut and dried, so to speak, from the works of others.

Among critical editions of the text there is one the importance of which has been recognized far and wide; that by the Cambridge Divinity Professors, Drs. Westcott and Hort. It has been called an "epoch-making book," and

such undoubtedly it is. It is impossible to overrate its value for the textual critic and indeed for the general reader, as being probably the best critical edition that has been published, bringing us into closer proximity to the original autographs of the sacred writers than we ever were before. But my purpose in the present Paper is not so much to dwell on this, as to draw attention to the wonderful way in which this work may serve *as a Commentary*, although it contains in Volume I. the simple text without note or comment of any kind, and in Volume II. an Introduction on the principles of textual criticism, and notes on selected passages, which are simply intended to elucidate questions of disputed readings. The arrangement of the text and the variations of the type employed will be found highly suggestive, and assist the reader in grasping the meaning and connexion of the writing in a manner which renders this edition far superior to any other as a manual for ordinary use.

(1) *Arrangement of text.* The principles followed are thus stated by Dr. Hort in the Introduction (vol. ii. p. 319). "The course which we have followed has been to begin by examining carefully the primary structure of each book as a whole, and then to divide it gradually up into sections of higher or lower rank, separated by spaces, and headed if necessary by whole words in capitals. In the subdivision of sections we have found great convenience in adopting the French plan of breaking up the paragraphs into sub-paragraphs by means of a space of some length. In this manner we have been able to keep together in combination a single series of connected topics, and yet to hold them visibly apart. The advantage is especially great where a distinct digression is interposed between two closely connected portions of text. We have been glad at the same time to retain another grade of division in the familiar difference between capitals and small letters

following a full stop. Groups of sentences introduced by a capital thus bear the same relation to sub-paragraphs as sub-paragraphs to paragraphs."

Let us now see what light this throws on St. Matthew's Gospel. On turning to it, we find that there are six passages headed by whole words in capitals. (1) Chapter i. 1: *ΒΙΒΛΟΣ γενέσεως*. (2) Chapter i. 18: *ΤΟΤ ΔΕ [ΙΗΣΟΥ] ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ἡ γένεσις*. (3) Chapter iii. 1: *ΕΝ ΔΕ ΤΑΙΣ ΗΜΕΡΑΙΣ ἐκείναις*. (4) Chapter iv. 17: *ΑΠΟ ΤΟΤΕ ἤρξατο*. (5) Chapter xvi. 21: *ΑΠΟ ΤΟΤΕ ἤρξατο*. (6) Chapter xxvi. 1: *ΚΑΙ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν*. This gives us as an analysis of the Gospel: (1) Introduction, (2) the Infancy, (3) Preparation for the Ministry, (4) Early, and (5) Later Ministry, (6) the Passion and Resurrection. It will be seen at once that, according to this analysis, St. Matthew divides our Lord's public ministry into two great sections, one beginning at Chapter iv. verse 17, and the other at xvi. 21. The arrangement of the text not only points this out to us, but seems to suggest a comparison of the formulæ with which the two sections are introduced; and most instructive such a comparison is. The early ministry is introduced by the words, "*From that time Jesus began to preach and to say, Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.*" The account of the later ministry commences as follows: "*From that time Jesus Christ began to shew to his disciples, how that he must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and the third day be raised up.*" The similarities and variations of the two passages are equally worthy of notice. The opening words *ἀπὸ τότε ἤρξατο* ("From that time began") serve in each case to mark a new point of departure in our Lord's earthly life. In each case there is a beginning made, and something new is brought before us. At the first occurrence of the phrase it marks the commencement of our Lord's *public* ministry, which is charac-

terized as a preaching of repentance and a proclamation of the kingdom. There is thenceforward no further break in the narrative until we come to Chapter xvi. Meanwhile we have the full record of our Lord's Galilean and *popular* ministry, which should be read as a whole, and which will thus be seen to culminate in St. Peter's great confession of his Messiahship: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." Even if the common people (the *ὄχλοι*) no longer hear him gladly—if they have rejected or misjudged Him, yet the disciples (*μαθηταί*, verse 13) have at any rate learnt this lesson, and acknowledge Him as Christ.

And now comes the second section. "From that time began Jesus Christ (no longer *Ἰησοῦς* alone, but most significantly *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*) to shew to his disciples (not to the multitudes, but to those only who had learnt the first lesson aright) how that He must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things," etc.

When the lesson that He is the Messianic King, the Christ promised in the Old Testament, has been grasped and acknowledged by the faithful few, then the title Jesus Christ is used by the Evangelist¹ as it is used nowhere else, except in the Introduction (Chapter i. 1 and perhaps i. 18); and the training of the disciples in receiving the new truth that He must be a *suffering* Messiah is introduced by precisely the same formula as that which marks the commencement of the ministry itself.

This may serve as an instance of the value of this careful arrangement of paragraphs. It is perhaps the most remarkable one, but I am convinced that, if in a similar way each student will make his own analysis of any book of the New Testament at which he may chance to be working, by

¹ It must be noticed that *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός* is a new reading, received apparently by no critical editors before the Cambridge Professors, but noted in the margin of the Revised Version as being found in "some ancient authorities." These include the Vatican and Sinaitic MSS.

carefully following out the sections thus indicated in this Edition, he will be richly rewarded by thoughts and suggestions which will come to him almost as discoveries of his own, and therefore will be assimilated and appropriated by him in a manner which will render them a lasting possession.

(2) A second feature that is especially helpful may be noticed. "Passages apparently metrical in rhythm have been printed in a metrical form, whether taken from the Old Testament or not." Thus we are not only enabled to recognize the poetic quotations at a glance, but throughout the Canticles in St. Luke (Chapters i. and ii.) the reader has his attention drawn to the parallelism which is the distinguishing feature of Hebrew poetry, and is as conspicuous in them as in the Psalms of the Old Dispensation. One is almost tempted to wish that this typographical arrangement could have been extended yet further, although perhaps it would scarcely have been allowable. But occasionally there are passages in our Lord's discourses in which a kind of metrical structure may be clearly discerned, and it is to be regretted that these could not have been marked for the general reader. The same sort of insensible transition from prose to poetry is found also in the Old Testament; *e.g.* in the first chapter of Genesis Keil notices that at the crowning work of the sixth day (in verse 27) "the words swell out into a jubilant song, so that we meet for the first time with the parallelismus membrorum, the creation of man being celebrated in three parallel clauses." So occasionally in his more solemn utterances our Lord's words fall into similarly balanced clauses either of "antithetic" or of "synonymous parallelism." For instance, the allegory of the Good Shepherd in St. John (Chapter x. verses 14, 15) contains perhaps the most perfect specimen of introverted parallelism to be found in the whole Bible.

- (1) Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός,
- (2) Καὶ γινώσκω τὰ ἐμά, καὶ γινώσκουσί με τὰ ἐμά,
- (3) Καθὼς γινώσκει με ὁ πατήρ, καὶ γὼ γινώσκω τὸν πατέρα,
- (4) Καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν μου τίθημι ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων.

This is one of the passages where the Revisers have happily restored the meaning, of which the Authorized Version had made sad havoc; and as the English reader can now read it, if he arranges it as is done above, he will see how the second and third clauses answer to one another, while the fourth corresponds exactly to the first, for it has already been noted in verse 11 that the characteristic of the Good Shepherd is that he "layeth down his life for the sheep."

Another beautiful instance noticed by Dr. Westcott in his "Introduction to the Study of the Gospels" (p. 271) is our Lord's parting blessing of his disciples in St. John xiv. 27.

Εἰρήνην ἀφίημι ὑμῖν, εἰρήνην τὴν ἐμὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν.
 Οὐ καθὼς ὁ κόσμος δίδωσιν ἐγὼ δίδωμι ὑμῖν.
 μὴ ταραστέσθω ὑμῶν ἡ καρδία μηδὲ δειλιάτω.

But though these could perhaps hardly be marked by any deviation from the ordinary arrangement of the text, yet the reader will feel it to be a real gain not only to have the hymns in the Apocalypse pointed out, and such passages as Ephesians v. 14, and 1 Timothy iii. 16 given as poetical quotations, but also to find that the Editors have marked "the essentially metrical structure of the Lord's Prayer in St. Matthew's Gospel, with its invocation, its first triplet of single clauses with one common burden, expressed after the third but implied after all, and its second triplet of double clauses, variously antithetical in form and sense."¹ This will probably be new to most readers, and it is indeed a "pearl of great price," as it brings out the fulness of meaning in this Divine Prayer in a most striking manner. The arrangement is as follows:—

¹ Volume ii. p. 320.

Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς
 Ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου,
 ἔλθάτω ἡ βασιλεία σου,
 γενηθῇτω τὸ θέλημά σου,
 ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς·
 Τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον
 δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον·
 καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν,
 ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν
 καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμῶς εἰς πειρασμόν,
 ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

Thus the first three petitions are as it were bracketed together, and the refrain *ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς* is taken with each of them, and not as is commonly the case confined to the third. There is no need to enlarge upon the beauty and suggestiveness of this arrangement. It must be apparent to the dullest reader when once his attention is drawn to it; only somehow it seems to have escaped the notice of commentators in an extraordinary manner until Dr. Hort brought it forth into the light.

(3) A third point on which a few remarks may be made is the treatment of citations from and allusions to the Old Testament. "Quotations from the Old Testament are printed in 'uncial' type. Under this head are included not only passages or sentences expressly cited in the context as quotations, but sentences adopted from the Old Testament without any such indication, and also all phrases apparently borrowed from some one passage or limited number of passages, and in a few places characteristic single words."¹ I have dwelt upon the value of this in a previous paper in the *EXPOSITOR*,² but its importance is so great that I shall be excused for recurring to it again, and emphasizing it once more. In many cases the recog-

¹ Vol. II. p. 315.² *EXPOSITOR*, vol. IV. p. 121, *et seq.*

dition that a passage is taken from the ancient Jewish Scriptures is the only sure guide to its meaning; and it is not too much to say that there are some parts of the New Testament which cannot be understood unless they are compared chapter by chapter, and almost verse by verse, with the Old Testament. How, for instance, can we expect to arrive at anything like a correct interpretation of the Apocalypse until we have realized the extent to which passages from the Old Testament, and especially the Prophetical books, are worked up into it, so that some Chapters appear as a sort of mosaic of fragments pieced together out of Isaiah, Daniel, and other writers. The same remark applies to the Epistle to the Hebrews, and to some of our Lord's discourses. Again, there are those passages in St. Paul's Epistles, in which he takes a text from the Old Testament and argues from it, working all round it, and perpetually returning to its words, breaking it up into fragments each of which is considered separately. In these it is a great assistance to have the words of the citation marked for the reader by a difference of type: it enables him to follow the argument, and brings vividly before him the whole line of thought in the Apostle's mind. The reader is recommended to work out for himself such passages as Romans iv; x. 5-15; Ephesians iv. 8-11, as examples; and I feel confident that he will agree with me in my estimate of the value of this feature of the work under consideration. The employment of uncial type, it is true, is no novelty. Bishop Lightfoot has familiarized us with it by his Commentaries on Galatians, Philippians, and Colossians, and others have used it as well. But it is here consistently carried out throughout the whole of the New Testament, and with closer attention to minute and perhaps undesigned coincidences, than has been given in other editions. Only I cannot help thinking that even now there is room for a still wider application of it. We

are told that in a few places "characteristic single words" are thus noted as belonging to the Old Testament. Surely, then, the very remarkable connexion between the first and the fourth Gospels on the one hand and the Book of Genesis on the other, might have been marked for the reader by the employment of uncial type for the opening words of these two Gospels. The phrases *βίβλος γενέσεως* in Matthew i. 1, serves to link together the "book of the generations of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham," and the Book of Genesis so remarkably divided into ten sections, giving the "generations" (*tôldôth*) of the heavens and the earth, of Adam, of Noah, etc., for which *βίβλος γενέσεως* is the actual expression used by the Septuagint in Genesis v. 1, "The book of the generations of Adam." So also when St. John begins his Gospel with the statement *ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος* we can hardly resist the impression that he is consciously and of set purpose linking it on to the same book of the Old Testament, which opens with the corresponding statement, *ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν*. And the intimate connexion of the Old Covenant with the New would be brought home to the reader, as I believe, in a very legitimate manner if the uncial type, so freely employed elsewhere, had been permitted to stand in both these passages, on the latter of which Dr. Westcott himself writes in the Speaker's Commentary as follows: "The phrase carries back the thoughts of the reader to Gen. i. 1, which necessarily fixes the sense of the *beginning*," a note which increases one's surprise that in his Greek Testament the reference should meet with no recognition.

As an example of a "characteristic single word" in a discourse of our Lord, which would direct the thoughts of his hearers to the prophecies of the Old Testament from which he was drawing, I would specify *σημεῖον* in Matthew xxiv. 30, which appears to be an allusion to the prophecies

of Isaiah concerning the "standard," or signal, which should herald the approach of the Messianic age, and for which the Septuagint translators freely employed this very word.¹ Other instances might be given, *e.g.* it might be plausibly argued that the saying, "If ye love me, keep my commandments" (John xiv. 15), is but an echo of the closing words of the fourth commandment, "shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments" (Exod. xx. 6); that *ἐν πασθε* in 1 Corinthians iv. 21, is a reminiscence of Psalm lxxxix. 32; and that the *hapax legomenon* *ὑπερύψωσεν* in Philippians ii. 9 was drawn from Psalm xcvi. 9, where the same word appears in the Septuagint. Sufficient, however, has been said to indicate that the subject is not yet exhausted, but that there is still room for further research in it.

(4) Lastly, it must not be forgotten that "Hebrew and Aramaic words transliterated in Greek, not being proper names, are marked by spaced type; inscribed titles and the peculiar formulæ quoted in Romans x. 9; 1 Corinthians xii. 3, and Philippians ii. 11, are printed entirely in ordinary capitals."² All this helps to make the reader *think*. It obliges him to notice the peculiarities of diction, and forces him to ask himself the question, *why* a different type is employed. And anything which arrests attention is a real assistance towards a correct understanding of the Sacred Writings.

EDGAR C. S. GIBSON.

¹ See the *EXPOSITOR*, Second Series, vol. i. p. 298.

² Vol. ii. p. 316.

BALAAM: AN EXPOSITION AND A STUDY.

§ 3. *The Oracles.* (Numbers xxii. 36-xxiv. 25.)

BALAAM'S *Fourth Oracle* is a series of prophetic utterances rather than the development of a single theme such as we have heard from him heretofore. It deals successively with the fate of Israel, Moab, Edom, Amalek, the Kenites, the Assyrians, and perhaps even with that of the Macedonians. It is divided into sections by the phrase, "And he took up his parable and said;" and is united only by the fact that the career and prospects of the other races of which it treats are viewed purely in their relation to the history and destiny of the chosen people.

Naturally, therefore, and of necessity, by virtue of the motive which prompted it and the intention with which it is fraught, the *predictive* element is far more dominant and conspicuous in this Fourth Oracle¹ than in any of those which we have already considered, although, as we have seen, the predictive is by no means the highest element in prophecy. Here we have clearly defined forecasts, forecasts which project their long shadows through century after century, forecasts which, if not justified by the event, must recoil with discredit on the head of the prophet who utters them. The fate of no less than six well-known Oriental races is involved in them, and of four of these races there was, so far as we can see, not the slightest necessity that Balaam should speak. He needlessly multiplies his difficulties, therefore, if he were not a true prophet, and himself places in our hands means for his detection and disgrace, with a confidence which we cannot but admire, or a reck-

¹ It will not be necessary, therefore, from our point of view, to discuss this Oracle at any length, though there is much in it to engage the attention of the commentator and historian, since, being mainly predictive, it throws comparatively little light on the character of the man.

lessness which proves him to have been beyond the reach of shame.

The whole Oracle, indeed, is volunteered, and seems even to have been thrust on unwilling ears. The Prophet's mission was already discharged. Again and again he had faithfully warned the king of Moab that he had better charge the buffalo, whom even trained and daring hunters of wild beasts avoid when they may, or rouse the lion when he couches over his prey, than assail the people whom the Lord had blessed. The warning had moved Balak to an impotent anger which, since he feared to vent it in violence, lest Balaam might return a curse for a blow—and he knew that whom Balaam cursed *was* cursed—found such poor relief and expression as could be obtained by smiting his hands together, and in breathing out rude sarcasms on the scrupulous piety with which the Prophet served a Lord who held him back from honour and reward.¹ Unmoved alike by the irony and the anger of the King, or moved only to the pity and awe of one who sees a headstrong man rushing on his fate, the Prophet accepts his dismissal, and replies only that, before he departs he will “advertise,” or “advise,” Balak “what this people shall do to thy people in later days”: *i.e.* he will tell Balak advisedly, or with a view to advice, what the ultimate relation of Israel to Moab will be, that so, with full knowledge of the final issue, the King may determine what shall be the present attitude of Moab to Israel.

With this brief exordium, he breaks into an inspired song and delivers his Oracle; of which the first section runs as follows (Chap. xxiv. verses 15–19):

Thus sayeth Balaam, the son of Beor,
And thus saith the man whose eyes are open;
Thus sayeth he who heareth the words of God,
And knoweth the knowledge of the Most High;

¹ Chapter xxiv. verses 10, 11.

He who seeth the vision of the Almighty,
 Prostrate, but with opened eyes :
 I see him, though he be not now ;
 I behold him, though he be not nigh :
 There cometh a star out of Jacob,
 And out of Israel there riseth a sceptre,
 And smiteth in pieces both flanks of Moab,
 And shattereth all the sons of tumult :
 And Edom is his possession,
 And Seir, his enemies,¹ is his possession,
 And Israel shall do valiantly ;
 Jacob shall have dominion over them,
 And shall destroy them that escape out of their cities.

In his Third Oracle Balaam had foretold that the king of Israel should be "higher than Agag," i.e. "higher than High," higher than the most eminent prince of his time. And now, in the abrupt mysterious tones of one who strains his eyes to behold a bright but distant vision, he declares that this high victorious King, shining with the pure but remote splendour of a star, and wielding a sceptre so potent and imperial that none of "the sons of tumult," none of those who delight in war, will be able to withstand it, is not to be looked for in the immediate future, that his advent is still far off; but that, though his coming be not "nigh," he will come, and come to smite Moab in pieces on both flanks, to reduce to subjection even those inveterate foes to Israel—the Edomites, and to take possession of Mount Seir, their home and stronghold among the rocks.

Now this prediction of the Sceptre and the Star has been read in a Messianic sense both by Jewish and Christian commentators; the Jews of our Lord's time even drew from it a title for their Messiah, and called Him *Bar-Cochab*, or "the Son of the Star." And this Messianic reference is of unquestionable authority if nothing more is meant by it than that all the symbols and predictions of Hebrew royalty find their last and highest fulfilment in the

¹ *His enemies*: i.e. both Edom and Seir—the Edomites who dwell in Seir.

Christ; and that it was very natural, therefore, that the piety of after ages should place the star on his brow and the sceptre in his hand. But if it be meant that Balaam saw the figure and day of Jesus Christ afar off, predicted his personal advent, and consciously hailed *Him* as the Star and Sceptre of Israel, we must demur. To import these specific meanings into general terms, to isolate certain images and to interpret them in a sense alien and opposed to the main scope of the prophecy in which they are found, is to treat the most sacred of books with less respect than we accord to almost any other writing; it is to degrade the Bible into a series of arbitrary signs and perplexing conundrums which every man may read in a different sense, rather than to accept it as a revelation of Divine truth to the reason and the conscience of man.

The Star and the Sceptre are natural and common emblems of imperial splendour and power. They are used in this sense in every considerable literature in the world. And we must take them in this sense here. We pass into the region of mere speculation and conjecture if we assume Balaam to have meant anything more than that, in the dim and undetermined future, a Ruler was to arise in Israel—or, still more probably, a line of rulers, a dynasty—under whom the Hebrew race would conquer its most inveterate foes, rise to an uncontested supremacy, and exercise an unchallenged dominion over them. The Oracle itself rebukes us if we attempt to impose a more precise, or a more definitely, Messianic significance upon it. For when did Jesus of Nazareth smite Moab on both flanks, assume Mount Seir as his possession, and destroy those who escaped out of their cities? On the other hand, taken in its natural sense, Balaam's prediction was very sufficiently fulfilled when David carried his victorious arms through Moab and Edom, shattering these and other sons of tumult with what seems to us a ferocious severity, and when,

under Solomon his son, Jacob had full and unbroken dominion over them.¹

But Balaam is not content to foretell the defeat of Edom and Moab. He looks round on the whole circle of Israel's foes, and singles out the first and fiercest of them for his next denunciation. Taking up his parable, he says (Chap. xxiv. verse 20) :

Amalek is the first of the nations,
But his end shall be destruction.

The Amalekites were, we must remember, the great military clan of the Desert, and had recently subdued most of the adjacent clans by force of arms. They stood "first" among them all. But, from Balaam's point of view, their pre-eminence was a bad pre-eminence. For they had also been "first" in their hostility to Israel. They had attacked the Israelites almost as soon as they had broken out from the Egyptian house of bondage, at the very commencement of their long pilgrimage through the wilderness,² and had only been discomfited and repelled after a long and hazardous conflict. They had repeated the attack forty years afterward, and had driven back the Children of Israel when they first attempted to enter the Promised Land.³ For this unprovoked and persistent hostility Moses had solemnly devoted them to destruction; nay Jehovah Himself had said unto Moses, "I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven." Balaam had probably heard of the doom pronounced upon them, and now repeats and confirms it. How seriously this doom was understood in Israel, what grave importance was attached to its execution, one may infer from the fact that the prophet Samuel, nearly five hundred years after this doom was pronounced, formally commissioned Saul to destroy the Amalekites; and when Saul returned from the slaughter declaring that

¹ 2 Samuel viii. 2; comp. 2 Chronicles xxv. 11, 12.

² Exodus xvii. 8-16.

³ Numbers xiv. 40-45.

he had "utterly destroyed all the people with the edge of the sword," reserving only the king, the Agag of his day, for his personal captive, the Prophet himself,¹ as one engaged in a religious service, "hewed Agag in pieces *before the Lord.*"

But Israel had friends as well as foes, and among these friends there were none who had served them more faithfully and efficiently than the Kenites, who seem to have derived their name either from Kain, their tribe-father, or from Kain, the city in which they dwelt. Led by Jethro, one of their prince-priests and the father-in-law of Moses, they had cast in their lot with the chosen people, guided them through the desert, in which—so the sacred historian gratefully acknowledges—they were as "eyes" to them, and had received from Moses the assurance, "What goodness the Lord shall do unto us, the same will we do unto you." As they had elected to share the lot of Israel, they should share it to the end: *this* is the substance of the next section of Balaam's Oracle, which runs thus: when he looked on the Kenites, he said (Chap. xxiv. verses 21, 22),

Strong is thy dwelling-place,
And thy nest fixed in the crags;
For surely Kain shall not be destroyed
Until Asshur shall carry *thee* away captive.

The prediction is susceptible of more than one interpretation; but the most probable seems to be that which finds in it an allusion to the former home of the Kenites, and makes it declare that as they had left their inaccessible haunt amid the crags of Horeb, to attach themselves to the fortunes of Israel when Israel itself was wandering and homeless and poor, they should be installed in a still more enduring and impregnable home now that they had placed themselves under the shield of Jehovah. In the Hebrew

¹ 1 Samuel xv. 32, 33.

there is a pun on the word *ken*, or "nest," and the word from which the *Kenites* derived their name, which gives a special prominence to the thought that the warm safe nest of this friendly race should remain unrifled and undisturbed until, so to carry out the figure, the Hebrew tree amid whose branches it was placed should itself be cut down and carried away to a strange land. In any case, on any reading, the main drift of the forecast is that the fate of the *Kenites* was bound up with that of the *Israelites*, and that they should continue to share in the good fortune of the men to whom they had committed themselves, until, at last, even these should be conquered and enslaved by the fierce and hasty *Assyrians*. And in this its main drift the forecast was fulfilled. The *Kenites* did continue in the Holy Congregation to the end, and "never wanted a man to stand before the Lord" until the Congregation itself was broken up and dispersed.¹

With the mention of that tremendous name *Asshur*, which in after centuries came to import so much to the whole Eastern world, a still vaster and more dreadful scene breaks in upon the Prophet's soul, musing on things to come; a scene in which enormous empires rise and fall; a scene of which he catches only brief glimpses indeed, and gives us only broken and indefinite outlines, but by which he himself is so profoundly moved and shaken that he opens the final section of his Oracle with a groan. "Alas," he cries (Chap. xxiv. verses 22, 24)—

Alas! who shall live when God doeth this!
But ships shall come from the coast of Chittim,
And shall humble *Asshur* and humble *Eber*:—
And *he* also shall be destroyed.

The Prophet is thus profoundly torn and moved, partly perhaps because he himself came from the mountains and

¹ *Jeremiah xxxv. 19.*

plains of Aram, in which the great empires of Nineveh and Babylon were to take their rise and find their seat; but, mainly, because, as he looks forward through the years, he sees that the star of Jacob is to set and the sceptre of Israel is to be broken; that the *righteous* nation is to be overwhelmed by the powers of unrighteousness. Nay, as he gazes on the vision which passes before his eyes, he beholds storm after storm of ruin and disaster breaking on the world. Even the proud and mighty Assyrian—and Eber is here but another name for Asshur—is to be humbled and overthrown by forces borne on ships that come from, or come by, Chittim, *i.e.* the isle of Cyprus (Chittim = Citium, the capital of Cyprus), by which island all ships passing from the West to the East must needs pass: a prediction very sufficiently fulfilled when the great empires of the East were overrun by the Macedonian Greeks under Philip and Alexander the Great.

Nor is even this all: but the very Power which humbles Assyria and the East is itself doomed to a similar destruction; for this, as the Hebrew syntax proves, is the force of the final line in the Oracle, “And *he* also shall be destroyed.”

First he sees the Hebrews, with the faithful Kenites, carried away captive into Assyria; then he sees the mighty Assyrian empire itself humbled and brought low by a still mightier Power, of which all that he can discern is that its forces approach in ships from the West; and then even this great Power falls to pieces under a pressure too distant and vague for him to define. Is it any wonder that as he gazed on a spectacle so vast and dark his heart quaked within him, and the groan was forced from his lips, “Woe, woe! who shall live when God doeth this?” For it was not the mere terror of the spectacle which shook him, but the disorder, the lawlessness, the unreasonableness of it. There was no principle in it. He could get no clue to

it. It was alien to his experience, a shock to his most cherished beliefs. For all his beliefs were built up on the conviction that the world was governed by God, and that the Judge of all the earth must not only do right, but get right done. Yet how could it be right that the one people in whom he had descried no iniquity, and whose happy fortune he had just foretold, should be conquered and enthralled by an empire founded on injustice and mere brute force? What hope was there for mankind if the vista of the future were closed by a scene of universal ruin, nation rising after nation only to be beaten down by wave after wave of destruction? Was life worth living, was righteousness worth pursuing, if *this* were to be the end of all?

Thus, at least, *we* might have moralized had we stood in Balaam's place, and gazed into the gloomy horizon which bounded his view. And thus we are disposed to interpret his groan, "Who shall live when God doeth this!" But whether *he* meant all this, and whether this hopeless and despairing outlook in any measure detracted from his faith in the ultimate victory of righteousness and truth, and so contributed to his subsequent disloyalty to God, it is impossible for us to say. All we are told is that when the "vision from the Almighty" had faded from his soul, and his oracular lips had ceased to utter the "words he heard from God," and to convey "knowledge from the Most High," *Balaam rose up, and went away, and turned toward his place; and Balak also went his way.* The phrase, however, does not imply—as many have taken it to imply, especially those who take pleasure in making Scripture seem to contradict itself—that the Prophet returned to his home at Pethor, among the mountains of Aram. It is a common idiom in the Hebrew, and means no more than that both he and Balak went each where he was now free to go, where he was disposed to go. At the same time, from Balaam's words in verse 14, "And now, behold, *I go unto*

my people," it does seem probable that he left the presence of the king of Moab fully intending to bend his face homeward. If that were his intention, all that needs to be said is that, like many other men before his time and since, he changed his intention, and did not change it for the better. For from other sources we learn that, on second thoughts, he joined the Midianites, Balak's allies, with whom from the first he seems to have been more at home than with the Moabites; and that he afterwards suggested to them the vile expedient by which the men of Israel were seduced from their allegiance to Jehovah, and so brought down on them the curse which he had refused to pronounce. Nay, from the course of his subsequent history, it would seem probable that he became the recognized *vates* and counsellor of the Midianite clan, and cast in his lot with them; as it is quite certain—unless we are to reject Scriptures quite as authentic as this Chronicle can be—that he remained with them till, in the war of vengeance against Midian which Moses commanded, this great but mean man, this true yet false prophet, was taken captive and judicially slain.

And so our Chronicle comes to a close. By its aid we have followed Balaam from his distant home in Mesopotamia, through the adventures of his long journey; we have stood with him on the mountains of Moab, as he watched "till knowledge came upon his soul like flame," and have seen his soul illuminated, not by "magic fires at random caught," but by "true prophetic light." We have stood by him as "with tranc'd yet open gaze, fixed on the desert haze," like "one who deep in heaven some airy pageant sees," he has told us how, "in outline dim and vast," "the giant forms of empires on their way to ruin" cast their awful shadows on his heart. And now we must close the Chronicle, and turn to the supplementary Scriptures which carry on the tale or indicate the character of his life,

in the hope that they may throw some new light on the facts we have considered.

But already we have seen enough of him to know that though a great man, Balaam was by no means one of the greater prophets. The very visions and trances, in virtue of which we often ascribe greatness to him, are themselves the proof that he does not take the highest rank in the goodly fellowship. We are apt to lay too much stress on these strange and exceptional experiences, these ecstasies in which the spirit that is in man is carried out of and above itself, these visions in which the secrets of the future pass before his eye in visible form, and to attach too great an importance to them; as, indeed, we are apt to think too much of all rare and splendid mental endowments, and too little of the yet nobler moral gifts which are open to every son of man. And, therefore, we need to remember that as in the New Testament St. Paul lays down the canon, that self-consciousness and self-control are never lost by the true prophet, so also the great prophets of the Old Testament never paraded their ecstasies before their fellows, never appealed to visions and trances as authenticating their inspiration or augmenting their authority.¹ By their self-possession, by the sobriety of their bearing, no less than by the truth and power of their words, they are clearly marked off from the whole tribe of heathen soothsayers and diviners, and of the ministrants at Oracular shrines, who were held to be under the influence of the god in proportion as they lost composure and self-control. In this very Book of Numbers,² too, Jehovah Himself is represented as thus discriminating between the higher and inferior orders even of prophets who were genuinely inspired: "If there be a prophet among you" (*i.e.* among the Children of Israel, who then possessed, as we know, no

prophet of any great mark save Moses), "I, the Lord, do make myself known unto him *in a vision*, and do speak unto him *in a dream*. My servant Moses is *not so*, who is faithful in all my house. With *him* I speak mouth to mouth, even visibly, and not in dark speeches, and the similitude of the Lord doth he behold." Faithful service in God's house, then, and fellowship of spirit and aim with Him, are far higher gifts than prophetic dreams and trances, ecstasies and visions; and these are open to us all: they are gifts which all who ask may have, which all who seek may find. For what is there, save our own unwillingness, to hinder any one of us from seeing and serving God in all we do? what is there, save our own worldliness and selfishness, to prevent any one of us from a constant and growing communion with Him, and an ever-augmenting knowledge of his will? For all lowly, but faithful and loving, souls there is immense comfort in St. Paul's words: "Though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge, . . . but have not charity, I am nothing."

SAMUEL COX.

THE EXEGESIS OF THE SCHOOLMEN.

THEIR VAGUE VIEWS ON THE NATURE OF INSPIRATION.

IF we were to fix on any one special characteristic which marks each separate epoch of exegesis in the age of the Schoolmen,¹ we might say that—

(i.) The first period, from Walafrid Strabo († 849) down to Abelard († 1079), is mainly marked by secondhandness and iteration.²

(ii.) The second period, from Abelard to Durandus of St.

¹ I will speak of the Mystics separately.

There were, of course, partial exceptions, such as Rupert of Deutz.

Pourçain († 1332), is vitiated by the intrusion of dialectic forms and methods.

(iii). The third period, from Durandus to Gabriel Biel († 1495) and the Reformation, illustrates the extremest degeneracy of Scholasticism in the universal prevalence of idle and useless speculations.

We have already seen the extent to which exegesis was paralysed, (1) by an extravagant prostration of mind before the authority of the "Fathers," and (2) by the surrender of all independent inquiry respecting fundamental beliefs. A third source of weakness—and this continues to this day to be a source of weakness in hundreds of commentaries—is the absence of any clear conception as to the nature and limits of Inspiration. To the scholastic exegetes, the definition of "Inspiration" was of less interest than to us because they only professed to believe what they were told. They held that "the Church"—by which they ultimately meant the Pope—was infallible; and with perfect unconsciousness they gyrated in a vicious circle of argument, now founding the authority of the Church on the infallible character of Scripture, and now resting the proof of the inspiration of Scripture on the infallible authority of the Church.¹

The word "Inspiration,"—by which we express the influences of the Spirit of God in illuminating the vision and dilating the powers of the mind of man—is indispensable to theology. But if men continue for centuries to comment on Scripture without any distinct conception of the sense in which they use the word, or the limits of that authority which the Scripture writers derive from their inspiration, room is at once made for the endless confusions which have been introduced into exegesis from the days of the Apostles.

¹ Any one who reads the arguments of Duns Scotus (*in IV. Sent. prol. Qu. II.*) in favour of Scriptural infallibility, will see how much they would need to be re-stated in modern days.

Is the word "Inspiration" to be used in a *mechanical* sense to imply verbal dictation? or *dynamically*, merely to express a superintending control? Is inspiration to be regarded as *antecedent*, *concomitant*, or only so far *consequent* as to imply a general sanction? Is it natural or supernatural? In other words, is it the expansion of an ordinary energy, or the superinduction of a transcendent force? Has it existed in other writers besides those of Scripture; and if so, does their inspiration differ from that of the Bible in kind or in degree? Is it continuous, or intermittent? If continuous, is it always equally supernatural, or does it admit of degrees and variations? if variable, by what criterion can we estimate its pulsations? if intermittent, does it ever wholly cease? Does it annihilate or does it intensify the individuality of the writer? Is it a miraculous impulse reducing its recipient into a passive instrument, or is it in whole books nothing more than "a grace of superintendency?"

Now, strange to say, essential as these questions seem to be, the Church has never laid down any definite answer concerning them. The Church of Rome refers to the "unanimous consent of the Fathers;" but, exegetically speaking, there is no such thing, and much that was authorized by a consent which most nearly approaches unanimity, is in point of fact, erroneous. The language of the Fathers, even when dogmatically consistent, diverges into constant expressions which nothing but a determined casuistry can reconcile with their dogmatic theory.¹ The same phenomenon is still all but universally observable. The Church of England, indeed, remains unhampered by any untenable and paralysing formulæ on this subject. She requires her ministers to believe nothing beyond the broad and indisputable truths that "Holy Scripture con-

¹ Even in the case of Jerome (*Proem in Esaiam. Proem in Jerem. In Gal. iii. 1, etc.*), and Augustine (*De Consens. Evang.*, ii. 5, etc.).

taineth all things necessary to salvation,"¹ and that the "Old Testament is not *contrary* to the New, for both in the Old and New Testaments everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ."² But though the Church of England has wisely abstained from assertions respecting Scripture which every earnest student cannot but see to be historically false and intolerably burdensome, there are still thousands of her ministers who profess to maintain such assertions in the narrowest, most superstitious, and most impossible sense, and to enforce them upon others with powerless anathemas. The ill-defined and traditional prevalence of the mechanical theory about "verbal dictation" is the fatal disease of all honest exegesis. It cleaves an absolute abyss between historic and systematic theology. What intelligence of faith, what clearness of vision, what freedom and manliness of religious opinion, can possibly be hoped for, when we put into the hands of millions of Christians of every tongue, all sorts of translations—and often very bad and imperfect translations—of a highly uncritical text of a group of books of very various qualities—and tell them that every sentence, word, and letter of those books are inspired?³ And how can we justify such a dogma while, nevertheless, we are unable to refer them to any hermeneutic theory or any authoritative commentary? I will not go so far as to say with Mr. Ruskin, that "it is a grave heresy (or wilful source of division) to call any book, or collection of books, the word of God;" but I will say that there is One, and One only—not a book, but a Divine Person—to whom can be given absolutely and without qualification that title of "the Word of God." To say that *all which Scripture contains* is, in any true or deep sense, the "word of God," is to murder the spirit of Scrip-

¹ Art. VI.² Art. VII.³ As in the *Formula Consens. Helvetici*, "Tum quoad consonas, tum quoad vocalia—tum quoad res, tum quoad verba θεωρευσάτος."

ture under pretence of reverencing the letter. The misuse of Scripture, which has resulted from such fetish-worshipping confusion has been a pregnant source of curse and ruin to the world. We at any rate of the Church of England have no excuse for confusing inspiration with dictation and even with infallibility, for the word occurs several times in our Prayer Book, and in every instance is applied *not* to the extraordinary and miraculous, but to the ordinary and continual workings of the Holy Spirit of God;—the inspiration which cleanses the thoughts of the Christian's heart, the inspiration which enables us to think those things that be good, the inspiration which makes our works pleasant and acceptable to God.¹ And this is in accordance with the use of the word in all ages. It connotes Divine guidance, but no complete exemption from human limitations and from human infirmity. Philo certainly did not assert for himself any infallibility when he claims to be sometimes inspired (*θεοληπτεισθαι*);² nor Cyprian, when he says that he wrote "*Inspirante Deo*;" nor Milton, when he says:

"Inspire as Thou art wont
My prompted song, else mute."

Nor is there anything in Scripture itself to give a moment's countenance to the popular perversion of the word.³ Beza-leel was "inspired," but no one has ever pretended that he thereby became a superhuman artist. Samson and David were often moved and filled by the Spirit of God, yet this secured for them no permanent holiness or perfect wisdom. The Apostles were mitred at Pentecost with tongues of cloven flame, yet they themselves honestly record for us the facts which shew how little they were exempt from fallibility either in their words or in their deeds.

Yet there is scarcely one—if one—of the Schoolmen who

¹ See the first Collect of the Ante-Communion Service; the Collect for the Fifth Sunday after Easter; the 13th Article; the Hymn, *Veni Creator Spiritus*.

² *De Cherub*. (Opp., i. 143).

³ Neither verb nor substantive occur except in Job. xxxii. 8. and 2 Tim. iii. 16.

had even the glimmering of a rule by which to discriminate between that which is partial and transitory in Scripture, and that which is universal and eternal. In them, as in almost all commentators, the incidental criticisms are often in flagrant contrast with the asserted dogmas.

St. Gregory the Great, in those *Magna Moralia* on the Book of Job which furnished the Middle Ages with the materials for innumerable sermons, says that the inquiry as to the author of the book is quite superfluous (*valde supervacue quaeritur*) because the author is the Holy Spirit who *dictated* it,¹ and that therefore to ask the author's name is as ridiculous as to enquire with what pen some great writer copied out his work.² We ask with amazement whether St. Gregory supposed that the Holy Ghost *dictated* the cruel sophisms, the malignant "orthodoxies," the uncharitable innuendoes of those three friends, whose utterances occupy so large a part of the book, and which God Himself so unexceptionally condemned? Bonaventura, in his vague declamatory way says, that all Scripture was "written by the Triune God." Does not such an assertion flatly contradict what Scripture itself again and again implies and teaches? Are there not multitudes of passages in the Old Testament which we could not, without an irreverence almost amounting to blasphemy, say were "*written by the Triune God!*"

Starting then with the undefined and loose if not positively irreverent assertion, that the "*auctor primarius*" of all Scripture is God, and that the sacred writers were only "*a pen of the Trinity*," much of what the Schoolmen say on the subject of Inspiration can only be regarded as so much vague and vaporous declamation, which has no value for the purposes of thoughtful or scientific theology.

Here for instance is a passage of John of Salisbury.¹ He speaks of "the books of the Divine page, of which *the*

¹ "Ipse igitur hæc scripsit qui scribenda dictavit."

² "Quid aliud agimus nisi legentes literas de calamo percontamur?"

very points of the letters are full of Divine mysteries," and which are written "by the finger of the Holy Spirit." Akhiva and other Rabbis had said the same sort of thing centuries before, and the Kabbalists had carried out the dogma into a whole system of egregious folly and delusion. Some theologians repeat the same thing now. But to what can such dogmas lead except to that letter-worship which our Lord swept utterly aside? He taught us, as the Apostles do, that certain rules and ordinances belong only to times of ignorance, and can only be regarded as concessions to weakness; while at the same time He leads us to the very heart of those authoritative and spiritual principles which supersede and transcend the dead letter.

Here again is a passage of St. Bonaventura, at the beginning of his *Breviloquium*. "The height of Scripture," he says, "is unattainable, because of its inviolable authority; its plenitude inexhaustible, because of its inscrutable profundity; its certitude infallible, because of its irrefutable method; its healthfulness priceless, because of its inestimable fruit; its beauty incontaminable, because of its impermixtible purity, *etc., etc.*, in order that to the secular sciences, which inflate the heart and darken the intellect, there may be no opportunity of glorying against Holy Scripture. . . . It is the river which flowed forth from the place of pleasure to water the Paradise both of the faithful mind and of the militant Church, which is thence divided into four heads, namely of histories, of anagogies, of allegories, of tropologies. The river of histories withdraws the mind from earthly histories; the rivers of anagogies refresh it in things celestial, *etc., etc.*" Now perhaps something of this kind might be permissible in homiletics, if a preacher wished to impress upon his audience that in the highest teachings of Holy Scripture, and in the totality of its revelations, they might find peace and salvation. But for

¹ *Polycraticus*, viii. 12.

any purpose of real knowledge, for any solution of obvious difficulties, what are such passages but mere specimens of epideictic oratory—mere sound and fury signifying nothing? The homilist is often the antithesis of the exegete. His method is a *μετάβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος*.¹ He is a sort of privileged misinterpreter who does and may thrust into his exposition an endless variety of commonplaces. Oftentimes these “improvements” of the text have no relation whatever to the original meaning of the writer, whose words the homilist is using in fragments to construct out of them a mosaic of his own. For instance St. Bonaventura proceeds to tell us that the Old Testament precedes the New because *that which is carnal* comes before *that which is spiritual*.² Is there then in the *carnal*, to the same extent as in the *spiritual*, all the *incontaminabilis pulcritudo*, all the *impermixtibilis puritas*, about which he has been pouring forth such sesquipedalian eulogy? In another place he tells us that the brief difference between the Old and New Testament is that between fear and love. But if “perfect love casteth out fear,” how are we helped in the slightest degree towards the solution of a problem of such consummate importance as the degree of reverence with which we are to regard the Old Testament?

Similarly Hugo of St. Caro tells us that in every book of Scripture there is *plena et perfecta veritas*. Is there, we ask, “*full and perfect truth*” in the Books of Canticles and Esther, which do not once mention the name of God? in the Epistle of St. James, which scarcely ever alludes to many of the most essential Christian doctrines? in the Book of Leviticus, which contains so many of what St. Paul calls “weak and beggarly elements?” in the Law generally, which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews characterizes as *not full but fragmentary*, and *not perfect but*

¹ See Merx, *Eine Rede vom Auslegen*.

² Bonavent., *Proem. in Breviloquium*.

inefficacious? According to the decree of the Council of Trent, the Church "receives and venerates with *equal* pious affection the Books of the Old and New Testament." With *equal* affection? Is the type then as valuable as the antitype? the shadow as the substance? the evanescent as the eternal? the partial as the complete? Is not this as absurd as to say with the Talmudists that every sentence of the Pentateuch is equally valuable, from "*Timnath was concubine to Eliphaz, Esau's son*," to "*the Lord our God is one Lord*"; and that from "*In the beginning*," down to "*in the sight of all Israel*," the Law was written by Moses from the lips of Jehovah? What can we say of this but that it is what St. Gregory of Nyssa called mere *Ἰουδαϊκὴ φλυαρία καὶ ματαιότης*.¹ To attach an equal degree of "inspiration" to the list of the Dukes of Edom and to the last discourses in the Gospel of St. John,—to accept "with *equal* pious affection" David's imprecations against his enemies, and St. Paul's description of charity,—to value the Books of Chronicles as highly as the Epistles to the Romans or the Gospel of St. Luke,—to reverence with equal devotion the list of clean and unclean animals and the first Epistle of St. Peter,—is to treat the Holy Scriptures in a spirit of plus-quam-Judaic superstition, and to claim for all their parts an equal authority such as they never remotely claim for themselves. Yet in spite of a few theoretic disclaimers and actual inconsistencies, this is the spirit which animates every one of the Schoolmen in their voluminous commentaries on almost every part of Holy Writ.

"But we are," says Bonaventura, "to understand everything of Christ." There is a certain sense, capable of careful definition, in which this vague phrase may be accepted. But to say nothing of the fact that such a rule may be abused into the crudest casuistry which utterly distorts and depraves the true historic sense of Scripture, and turns it

¹ Greg. Nyss. Orat. xii., cont. *Eunomium*.

into a fantastic enigma, Bonaventura gives us no shadow of a rule by which we may be safer in applying all the Old Testament to Christ than in applying it (as he himself does) to the Virgin Mary. The Psalter, for instance, of the Seraphic Doctor becomes a series of hymns to the Virgin. Thus in Psalm i. we read, "Happy is the man who loves thy name, Mary Virgin;" in Psalm ii., "Why have our enemies raged? Let thy right hand defend us, mother of God," etc. Are such methods in any way worthy of the name of exegesis? Does not the use of Scripture on such a system become necessarily artificial and misleading? Can the Bible be rightly understood so long as it is used as a book of propositions all on the same level, "each absolute in itself, and warranting whatever inferences can be logically deduced from the phraseology?" Can we wonder that "the piety of the Schoolmen became a superstition, transubstantiating the word of God into the verbal elements by which it was signified?"¹ If there be in Scripture a human element as well as a Divine; if each writer be as St. Augustine said, "*inspiratus a Deo sed tamen homo*";² if, as the same saint says, each Evangelist wrote "*ut quisque meminerat et ut cuique cordi erat*";³ if Inspiration differs in illuminating degrees; if it be supernatural only in matters undiscoverable by reason yet essential to faith; nothing can be clearer than that there is something utterly superstitious in the adoring literalism which refuses to judge of Scripture by the teachings of Christ, of Experience, of History, of Criticism, of the Moral Sense. "God," says Luther, "does not speak grammatical vocables, but true essential things." "As incredible praises given unto men," says Hooker, "do often abate and impair the credit of their deserved commendation, so we must likewise take great heed lest, in attributing to Scripture more than it can have,

¹ Bishop Hampden.² Aug., *De Consens Evang.*, ii. 28.³ *Id. ib.*, ii. 5.

the incredibility of that do cause even those things which it hath most abundantly to be less reverently esteemed.”¹

The evils which rose from this reiterated assertion of the supernatural, sacramental, and infallible character of *every* word of Scripture—which meant to the Schoolmen every *word* of very imperfect translations of a by no means perfect text—were manifold. This *πρῶτον ψεῦδος* tended to vitiate their whole system of interpretation.

1. One of these evils was the universal prevalence of modes of exposition which, as we shall see in a later paper, were in their very nature unsound; and the consequent acceptance of conclusions which, by universal admission, are absolutely without basis.

2. Again, the false view of Inspiration served to obliterate the one conception which is the best key to the difficulties of Scripture—the conception of *a growth and progress in Revelation*; the recognition that God revealed Himself fragmentarily and multifariously; that there were times of ignorance “at which God winked,” that there were certain things which God allowed only because of the hardness of men’s hearts; that even moral truths were but slowly apprehended; and that God spake “to them of old times” in a different way from that in which He spoke in his Son. He who has not grasped the fact of this continuity and relativity of Scripture—the truth that Scripture is not to be handled as though it were one contemporaneous revelation, and that each part of Scripture must be judged with reference to the age in which it was written, and even to the degree of development in the mind of the writer—is wholly unprepared even to begin the work of an Expositor.

3. The same vagueness of theory led commentators to overlook and practically to ignore the difference produced by the intense individuality of the sacred writers, and by

¹ Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.*, II. viii. 7.

the very tone in which they write according to the varying moods of their special temperament. The style of the greatest of them rises and falls as the gusts of emotion sweep across their spirits, even as the melodies of a wind-harp rise or fall with the breeze. To treat every utterance of a David, an Isaiah, a St. Paul, as if they were to be accepted with equal literalness, and with no reference to the feelings which called them forth, is to treat the Bible as if it were the Koran, and to rob it of that human element which awakens our tenderest sympathies. It is the natural and human element of Scripture which takes the deepest hold of our hearts, because it shews us that the writers were men of like passions with ourselves, though we are receiving through their honoured instrumentality the revelation which they received from God.

4. The same erroneous point of view prevented the due and necessary appreciation of what may be called the rhetorical element of Scripture—the fact, that is, that its utterances are, in every book, and in every particular, regulated by the normal rules of human expression. The Jews had an eminently wise proverb, which might indeed stand as the initial rule of all sound interpretation, and which far transcends their ordinary practice—that “*the Law speaks in the tongue of the sons of men.*” The neglect of this rule by the Schoolmen—their manner of handling every word of Scripture in the interests of a hard and lifeless traditionalism—reduced all Scripture to the riddle of a sphinx. Each verse presented an enigma to which all sorts of differing answers might be invented, and of these answers many were mutually exclusive, and the majority were valueless and arbitrary. It is the habit of the Schoolmen—it continues to be the habit of some modern commentaries—to crowd into every text as many conceivable meanings as can be extorted out of the words. The practice seems to assume the impossible notion, that the author

meant himself to be understood by his original readers in half a dozen different ways. This unsatisfactory method of dealing with sentences which were written to be understood each in its own proper sense continues, by direct affiliation, from the "*potest etiam intelligi*," or the constantly recurring "*aliter*," with which the scholastic commentators heap upon us a multitude of diverse interpretations one after another. Unless the language of Scripture be treated by the grammatical and rhetorical rules of the languages in which its books are written, our comments upon it will inevitably be marked by confusion and error.

5. In this paper I will note but one more evil which sprang from the vague and exaggerated notion held by the Schoolmen, of the *equal supernaturalness* of all parts of Scripture. It is the grave abuse of parallel passages which still continues to be a scandal in modern exegesis. The practice of wisely illustrating one part of Scripture by another is indeed capable of the most fruitful application, and has been at all times practised. The scholastic abuse of it arose in part from their mistake as to what St. Paul meant by "the proportion of faith." They strangely interpreted this to mean "*Cum veritas unius Scripturae ostenditur veritati alterius non repugnare*."¹ When St. Paul says, "whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of our faith," he clearly means that we are only to teach and preach according to the measure of faith which we have received, less or more. This is sufficiently shewn by the context, which tells us "that our gifts differ according to the grace that is given to us." The Schoolmen, however, used the phrase to mean that we must make all the different books and utterances of Scripture agree together; a task which was for them the more impossible because there was scarcely one of them who knew the original languages in which Scripture was written, and

¹ Thos Aquin., *Summ. Theol.*, *Ima. Qu.* 1, *Art.* 10.

therefore scarcely one of them who could in any given instance of difficulty be sure what the first meaning of the writer had been. St. Bonaventura both lays down the rule, and gives us a specimen of its application. "Scripture" he says,¹ "has a special mode of procedure, and so must be understood and explained in its own special way. Since under its letter lies a manifold sense, the expositor must draw this into the light by another Scripture of clearer meaning. Thus if I were expounding 'Take arms and shield and arise to help me,' and wished to explain what were the arms of God, I could say that they were his *truth* and *good will*, as is proved by an open passage of Scripture. For it is written elsewhere, 'With the shield of thy goodwill Thou hast crowned us,' and again, 'His truth shall surround thee.'" The reader must judge for himself as to the value of thus handling the most ordinary metaphors which in point of fact need no explanation whatever. We shall see hereafter that the exegesis of St. Thomas Aquinas depends to a very large extent on this method, applied with great ingenuity and great knowledge of the Vulgate, but often to extremely little purpose. It led to the use of "texts" as though they were so many cards in a pack, which might each be applied separately without any reference to their surroundings, and without a suspicion that the same word may be used not only by different writers, but even by the same writer in different passages, with very different shades of meaning.

6. But in order not to prejudge the Schoolmen I will here let two of them, and those the greatest, speak for themselves.

"Questi che m'è a destra piu vicino
Frate e maestro fummi: ed essi Alberto
E di Cologna, ed io Tomas d' Aquino."²

i. Here then is the comment of Albertus Manus on Joel i. 4: "That which the palmerworm hath left hath the locust

¹ *Proem. in Breviloquium.*

² Dante, *Paradiso*, x. 97.

eaten, and that which the locust hath left hath the canker-worm (Vulg. *rubigo*) eaten." Now on this passage an exegete might well tell us that the names of these insects literally mean "the gnawer," "the multitudinous," "the consumer"; he might enter into the question whether *different* insect-plagues are meant, or the locust *in different stages* of its existence; he would have made up his mind whether the prophecy of Joel is literal, or whether the locusts are an allegorical description of hostile forces. The comment of Albert merely refers us to Isa. xiv. 11: "The worm is spread under thee, and the worms cover thee"; to Exod. x. 4: "To-morrow will I bring the locusts into thy coast"; to Ps. cv. 35: "The locusts came, and caterpillars, and that without number" (where the resemblance is far more in the Vulgate than in the Hebrew); to Ps. lxxviii. 46, and to James v. 2 (because in the Vulgate the word *aerugo* which is analogous to *rubigo* occurs there also!). His subsequent comment is a mere heaped up confusion of allegorical meanings by which the locusts are meant for Assyrians, Chaldeans, etc.; and moral meanings by which the locusts indicate lust, vainglory, etc. (Gregory); or sadness, joy, fear, hope (Jerome); or (Gregory again) the locust is *incipient passion*; the locust *instability*, because it flies; the palmerworm is "*habit*," because it settles; the cankerworm is "*despair*, because it consumes."

Thus the whole passage is a vague shifting between parallel passages which elucidate nothing, and secondhand opinions based on no intelligent principle, and floating in the air.

ii. Here again is the comment of St. Thomas Aquinas on Isa. xi. 1: "There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse." The Blessed Virgin, he says, is called "a rod:"

a. As *consoling* in tribulation—which he illustrates by the fact that Moses divided the Red Sea with his *rod*.

β. As *fructifying*—because Aaron's *rod* budded. Num. xvii. 8.

γ. As *satiating*—because the *rod* of Moses drew water from the rock. Num. xx. 11.

δ. As *scourging*—because a *rod* would smite the corners of Moab. Num. xxiv. 17.

ε. As *watching*—because in Jer. i. 11 we read: *Virgam vigilantem ego video* Vulg. "I see a rod watching" [lit., "a wakeful or early tree," and in our A. V. "a rod of an almond tree," LXX. *βακτηρίαν καρπυίνην*].

Now in Isa. xi. 1 the word for "rod" is *chōter* (חֹטֶר). In Num. xvii. 8; xx. 11, the word is *matteh* (מַטֵּה) "staff." In Jer. i. 11 it is *makkeel* (מַקְקֵל). The parallel passages are therefore no parallels at all, but purely misleading. And even if the Hebrew words used had been the same, what would be the intrinsic merit and value of this accidental concordance-like juxtaposition of passages in which the same word chanced to occur? The reference to the Virgin is arbitrary and baseless; the only light thrown on the passage is a false and fantastic light; the result of the exegesis is merely a play of ingenuity resting on no foundation and leading to no result.

But such a method might with great ease lead to results which were not only fantastic but heretical. Thus the word "*tabernacle*" in several passages of Scripture is used for our mortal body. In accordance with the methods of exegesis which they found used by all the highest authorities, the Manichees were therefore quite justified in explaining the verse, "*In sole posuit tabernaculum Suum*" (Ps. xix. 4) to mean that Christ had ascended *incorporeally* to the Father, leaving his *body* in the Sun! The heretical conclusion was rejected *because* it was heretical; but they might have pleaded from the analogy of numberless similar methods of interpretation that *the method* was orthodox; and that, if the method was justifiable, the inference was sound.

F. W. FARRAR.

SCRIPTURE STUDIES OF THE HEAVENLY STATE.

III. THE DAY OF JUDGMENT.

(2 *Corinthians* v. 10.)

WE have seen in our previous paper that, in the view of St. Paul, the resurrection of the dead is not an act but a process. The immortality of the soul, as he understands it, is not something which is to burst upon the spirit in full perfection at the hour of death; nor yet is it something for which the spirit is to wait in a dreamless sleep until the empire of death shall be over. It is a growth, a development, a progress from dawn to noonday. In the life of the saint it begins before death, on this side of time, in the very heart of material things. The new life is sown on earth, but it is sown in corruption. When death comes, it is raised in glory. Death roots up the obstacle to its growth, and sets it free. But to be free is not *fulness* of joy; it is only the road to fulness of joy. When you have removed the barrier to spiritual communion, you have opened up man's path to spiritual wealth; but the wealth can only be reached by following that path. The soul that has been set free is as yet but a child. It has received the power to know, but not the fact of knowledge. It is ripe for study, but it is not yet ready for the world of action. Its time for manifestation will come afterwards; for the present it must be hid. Therefore it is that, to St. Paul, death is not the goal of man's spirit. The life into which death ushers it is but an intermediate stage of its being. Its goal lies in a future day of revelation, manifestation, disclosure, analogous to that which in the natural life ushers the child into the world of men—a day whose coming to each soul will be sooner or later in proportion to its nearness to the Centre of being: "Every man in his own order; Christ the first-fruits, afterward they that are Christ's."

Now it is this final stage in the process of Resurrection that we desire here to examine. We wish to consider what is meant by that phrase so constantly on the lips of Christendom—"the day of judgment." We do not ask what it means now. We want to know what it signified to the men who first used it. We all know what it meant to us in our childhood. It was a symbol of terror, a thought of dismay. It was the assembling of a high court of Justiciary in a definite point of space, and at a fixed period of time—a period which was to be begun, continued, and ended within the limits of a natural day. There was to be a setting of literal thrones, and an opening of actual books. There was to be an audible pronouncement of a legal sentence, by which some were to be acquitted and some condemned; and the sentence was to be prefigured, before its utterance, by the relative positions of the accused on the right hand of the Divine Judge and on the left. All this most of us can vividly remember to have been the impression of our early years. It is the idea conveyed in Mediæval paintings, and it is still perhaps the prevailing view of the uncultured masses. Yet we think it quite certain that this is not the view of St. Paul, not the view of the New Testament writers, not the view of those Hebrew Scriptures on which the New Testament is avowedly based. This is not one of those cases in which a man needs to clothe old thoughts in a modern dress. It is the old dress of the thought that we specially wish to find. We want to get back, not forward. We seek for the original vesture in which this idea was clothed, and we are convinced that, if we can find that vesture, we shall have no need to adapt the idea to any system of modern thought. We are convinced that, when we have traced back the conception to its root in the primitive heart of Judaism, we shall find it to rest upon a basis which is independent of all time, and to be really but the prophecy

of what Mr. Arnold has so eloquently presaged—the triumph of the Eternal Power that makes for righteousness.

For if we are not mistaken the root of the Jewish idea of judgment will be found in the Book of Judges, and in that state of things which the Book of Judges indicates. In this document the Children of Israel are introduced to us under a form of government peculiarly theocratic. They have no king but God, no law but the mandates of God. As long as they obey those mandates they are safe; when they disobey, anarchy supervenes and they become the prey of their enemies. Then in the providence of God there are raised up great men to rule them, to set and keep them right. They are in the highest sense of the word, representative men; for they stand as the representatives of the King of kings. They are called *Judges* because their rule is to be an administration of that justice which is the leading attribute of the God of Israel. They are to reign by the authority of God, and by that alone. They are to reign until they have put all enemies under their feet, and no longer. With the close of anarchy is to close the need for all human authority; the earthly judge is to resign his delegated commission and God Himself is again to be all in all.

Here, then, is the origin of the idea—"a day of judgment." It meant to the Jew a reign of justice, a government in which God was represented in the highest attribute known to Judaism. That this was the earliest view of the subject will be seen by consulting a very ancient poem in which the aspirations of the national mind are bodied forth. In Psalm ix. verses 7 to 9, we read: "The Lord shall sit for ever; he hath prepared his throne for judgment. He shall judge the world in righteousness; he shall minister justice to the nations in uprightness. So may the Lord be a high tower for the oppressed, a refuge in times of trouble." Here we have an actual definition of what

the Jew meant by a day of judgment. It was to him identical with a reign of Divine Justice, a reign in which wrongs would be redressed and rights vindicated, in which the poor would be protected from the oppression of the rich, and the decisions of earthly tribunals would be purified from the partiality that waits on power. And ever, as the Jewish history rolled on, men sought for this ideal age more and more. They sought it in the future, but they saw its model in the past. Their eyes reverted to that period of the national life when none was judge but God, and the man whom God had chosen to represent Him; when the government of Israel was a theocracy, and the only dominant force was the law which made for righteousness. If we turn to Isaiah i. verses 26, 27, we are very powerfully reminded of this. In that magnificent vision of future glory with which the Prophet comforts the heart of the Jewish nation, he directs her eye backward rather than forward: "I will restore thy judges as at the first; afterward thou shalt be called the city of righteousness; Zion shall be redeemed through judgment." The day of judgment which looms before the eye of the Prophet is the age of a restored republic in which, as of yore, the best men shall rise to the surface and rule. It is a government in which each man will rise in his own order, that is, according to the measure in which each has had a previous development. Every man will give an account of his past deeds by the place he takes in the new republic. He who comes soonest to the front will thereby give evidence that he has been all along nearest to the great Centre of being; he that is most in the rear will thereby prove that his union with the Centre of life has been a process of labour and difficulty. The kingdom of Divine Judgment to which Judaism looks forward is at the same time a kingdom to which she looks back with longing eye. In the day of the Judges she sees a model for the day of the Lord. In a

government where men started with equal rights and equal chances, and only became unequal through the difference of their own mental development, she reads the fitting type and symbol of that kingdom of God whose gradations in rank are to be regulated by the character of the moral life. It is in strict accordance with this thought that Daniel speaks of judgment being "given to the saints of the Most High." It is no less in accordance with it that St. Paul exclaims, "Know ye not that the saints shall judge the world?" A nation weary of priestly caste and respect for mere hereditary privilege was longing for an age and for an empire in which a man would be great or small by reason of himself alone; for a kingdom in which he would appear no longer under a mask, no longer in a position which had been artificially created for him, but in his own natural garb and in the only place which his past experience had fitted him to fill. It is an ideal such as this which breathes in the words of the Apostle: "We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ; that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad."

Now, let us clearly understand the difference of the view here presented to that which commonly prevails in the Christian Church. In the popular view, the day of judgment is that final event of the world's history which comes at the close of the millennial reign; in the exposition we have attempted, the day of judgment is the millennial reign itself.¹ Indeed it is not too much to say that the one phrase is almost a literal translation of the other. The judgment of God is the reign of God; and the day of God's judgment is proverbially millennial; one day is in his sight as a thousand years. The judgment-seat of Christ is in truth identical with what the Jew understood by the king-

¹ Though that reign is doubtless culminated by a final act of judgment. Rev. xx. 11. 1 Cor. xv. 24.

dom of heaven. When he looked forward to a time in which the Son of Man should come in his power, and sit upon the throne of his glory, he was really contemplating not a modern court of assize, but a realization of his old Messianic ideal, a fulfilment of that ancient vision which prophesied the coming of a perfect King, the advent of a pure government, and the gathering of all the nations around a common centre of peace and justice. That was what the first Christians understood; that was what St. Paul understood, by the judgment-seat of Christ—the bringing in of a reign of everlasting righteousness. Yet, let it not be thought that from such a view there is excluded any essential element of our popular conception. On the contrary, it includes and involves all that is worth preserving in our present mode of representation. The kingdom of God is, in a higher than the common sense, a veritable day of judgment. It is a time of crisis, a time of sifting, a time when the Book of Life is opened to reveal its final result. It is the season in which men are to give an account of themselves, to prove by their deeds what is in them, to take the respective positions for which their past has fitted them. It is an age in which nations as well as individuals are to give an account of themselves, in which the division between the destinies of good and bad races is to be as widely marked as in the separation between the sheep and the goats, and in which the result of their different developments is to be as clearly discernible as is the distinction observed between the right hand and the left. Let us briefly examine these points as they are presented in that passage of St. Paul which we have placed at the head of this article.

It will be found, we think, that there are two leading ideas in this passage—that of revelation, and that of separation. The first is indicated in the words: "We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ." Be it observed

that St. Paul does not say there is a time coming when a Divine Throne shall be set for judgment. He takes it for granted, with the writer of Psalm ix., that this throne has been set already. The judgment-seat of Christ was, to Paul, set in a very special sense at the hour of Christ's first coming; this was to him, as to the fourth Evangelist, the real beginning of the kingdom of God. It is written in St. John's Gospel, "*Now* is the judgment of this world;" and the inference seems clear that, in the view of that Evangelist, the setting of the great throne dates, for the Christian at least, from the birth of Christianity. Such also is the view of St. Paul. To him the kingdom of Christ, the judgment-seat of Christ, has been already established. Christ is even now the Head of all angels and principalities and powers, and has received a name before which every knee must bow. But that which St. Paul still misses in the world is a *revelation* of the judgment-seat, or headship, of Christ. He felt, like St. John, that the glory of Christ's reign was hid under a cloud; we did not yet see Him as He *is*. There is the same thought in the mind of the Apostle when He cries, "When Christ who is our life shall appear, then shall we also appear with Him in glory." What St. Paul desires is not an addition to the *fact*, but an addition to the *revelation*. He longs to see the judgment-seat unveiled. He thinks that the unveiling of the judgment-seat would be an era of revelation; a revelation of the dead to the living, a revelation of the living to the dead, a revelation of Christ to all. He seems to say that here things do not appear as they are; they seem to be as they are not. Good is really triumphant over evil every hour; yet, to the outward eye, it appears as if evil were triumphant over good. It cannot be said that, to the eye of sense, the saints judge or rule this world. It cannot be said to be a maxim of worldly politics that the survival of the strongest means the survival of goodness. We must still

aver with the inspired writer, "We see not yet all things subdued unto him."

Now it is just this that Paul desires to see. He is looking forward to a time when Christ shall *appear* to be what He really is—the Ruler of the world and the Judge of men. He is in search of a visible manifestation of the presence and power of God. He wants to behold the day in which men shall be revealed in their natural attitude of subjection, in which the veil that hides their dependent condition shall be withdrawn, and they shall be discovered in the posture of subjects standing before the throne of their Sovereign. This is the sense in which the Apostle says: "We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ." He demands for his Lord an acknowledgment of his glory. He claims from the world a recognition of the fact that it is subject every moment to his will. He says the time must come when that fact shall be made patent. The world shall yet be seen, in its naturally suppliant attitude. Men shall yet be beheld ranged in front of the great throne of the Theocracy. Every knee shall yet bow to the empire of Divine Goodness. Every tongue shall yet confess that the Lord of righteousness is the King of kings. That is St. Paul's meaning in the passage before us. He sought, he looked for, a new revelation of the fact that Christ is King.

Shall we ask in what form he expected the revelation to come? Was it to be literal or only spiritual? St. Paul would have smiled at the alternative implied in such a question. To him what we call "only spiritual" would have been at all times the most literal of all things. He would have told us that a revelation which was less or more than spiritual would be a contradiction in terms. No doubt he expected that the message addressed to the spirit would clothe itself in a human form; but of the nature of that form he is unwilling to speak. To attempt to break his silence would be to speculate, and speculation is not our

aim. We are simply trying to ascertain what meaning we of modern times are to attach to certain Scriptural phrases which custom has made familiar to us as household words. We are anxious above all things to import nothing *into* these passages. Our aim has rather been to divest them of that association with modern ideas which they have acquired in the course of ages. We have tried to throw ourselves back into intellectual sympathy with the past, in order to discover what the words would mean to the age and to the men upon whose ears they first fell. We do not, therefore, seek any theory; we only desire to know what was the original thought which these words conveyed and were intended to convey. We have now arrived at one of these thoughts. We have found that when the Apostle spoke of Christ as "appearing" to us, or of us as "appearing before the judgment-seat of Christ," he was thinking above all other things of the drawing aside of that veil which hides from us the plan of the Universe. He was in search of a light in which he might see things as they were. He wanted to catch the rhythm of that music to which creation keeps time, to hear the measure of that march which men call the order of Nature. He sought a lifting up of those clouds which were still round about the heavenly throne; for, like the Psalmist, he knew that the habitation of that throne was a world of righteousness and judgment, and that when the clouds lifted this world would be disclosed. The prophecy of Christ's appearing is the promise of a new revelation.

The second leading idea contained in this Pauline picture of the day of judgment is that of *separation*. It is given in the words: "That every one may render an account of the things done in the body, whether they be good or bad." The thought in this passage is clearly that of a sifting process which is to make a division between those things that hitherto have stood side by side. The good and the bad

acts of life grow together until the harvest, and then the reapers are sent to divide between them. Men will take their places in the new republic according to their deeds; the most developed will come soonest and nearest to the front. It will be as natural for the morally strong to rise in this new republic above the morally weak as it is in the present world for the physically strong to rise above the physically weak. The law of survival will then be regulated by goodness, and the element which gives to one soul the superiority or empire over another will be its possession of a higher degree of goodness. The separation in the destinies of individual souls will itself be the rendering of their account.

That there is nothing fanciful in this view, that this is really the sense which St. Paul attached to his own words, will be clearly seen if we turn for a moment to 1 Corinthians, iii., where he is dealing in detail with the same subject. He tells us that there is coming a day which is to try the works of men. The mode of trial is to be the revelation of a new experience; and the mode of revelation is to be fire. The fire is evidently spiritual, and it is by nature benevolent, not destructive. This appears from the fact that it is to try "*every* man's work" without distinction. Its element of destruction is merely incidental. It only destroys because there are in the Universe certain things which are combustible, and therefore incapable of permanence. It is the same element of which our Lord speaks in Mark ix. 49, where He says, "Every one shall be salted with fire"; the same as that of which the writer to the Hebrews says, "Our God is a consuming fire." In the view of the Apostle, it exists specially for the benefit of the saints, and is meant to strengthen their saintship. It hurts only in proportion as saintship is weak. Where there are works of gold and silver, it will refine and purify them; where there are works of wood or hay or

stubble, it will burn them, in order that their possessor may learn what and how much he lacks, and begin anew. In this remarkable passage St. Paul points out the fact, that there are degrees in the heavenly order. The relative rank of each soul is to be determined by a fiery ordeal which is to prove its capacities, and assign it its legitimate sphere. What that ordeal is to be the Apostle does not tell; it is probable he did not know. But there can be little doubt that, in whatever form it presented itself to his mind, it was realized by him as a fire of sorrow. It was to try every man's work in the same way in which Christianity itself must try it. The method of the Cross has all along been a method of fire—"near the Cross, near the fire." It has shaken the earth and the heavens that the things which cannot be shaken may remain. He who came after the Baptist was to baptize with fire. In that baptism of fire lies the distinctive power of Christianity. To this religion, more than to any other, has been assigned the mission of dividing between the real and the unreal. To this more than to any other has been committed the task of separating the natural from the artificial, the false from the true. The fiery trial of faith has been to all minds, as it was to the Apostolic mind, "more precious than gold which perisheth." The emblem of the day of judgment has, to the Christian consciousness, been an emblem of endearment; every saintly soul has owed its salvation to the fire of God. When St. Paul says "the fire shall try every man's work, the day shall declare it, for it shall be revealed by fire," he is not announcing to his countrymen any new experience, but simply a consummation of their daily experience. To them the Light of the world was at the same time the Fire of the world. The Christ whom they worshipped revealed the pure gold; but He did so by consuming the alloy. The day of judgment, though not manifested, had already begun; and it began not with the enemies, but with the *house*

of God. To be tried by the Divine fire, to be judged by the New Dispensation, was in its essence a privilege, not a penalty; and, therefore, it was first of all the prerogative of the saint. To the new fire of judgment, with its Divine power of separating between the false and the true, he was ever looking as the ally of his spiritual nature, ever saying with the saint of an older day, "Search me and try me."

The separating principle, then, which is characteristic of the day of judgment, is conceived by the first Christians to be already in operation. That theocratic kingdom which is called the day of the Lord, though its throne is not yet unveiled, and its sceptre is not yet displayed, is even now an historical fact in the Universe. The birth at Bethlehem was the dawn of God's judgment-day, the inauguration of a kingdom in which the best are to rule. That kingdom is yet to be manifested; but its principle is already at work in the world, and its principle is the power of separating between the false and the true. Accordingly we find that, in the account of our Lord's teaching which has come down to us, the day of judgment is spoken of in terms which at first sight might seem contradictory. Sometimes it is spoken of as if it had already come: "*Now* is the judgment of this world." Sometimes it is alluded to as if it were to come in the life of that generation: "There are some standing here who shall not taste of death until they see the kingdom of God come with power." And sometimes, finally, it is described as an event still in the far future, whose advent cannot be looked for until there has intervened an age of great tribulation: "The end is not by and by." The truth is that in our Gospel narratives the great day of the Lord is conceived of as consisting in a *series* of judgments, reaching from the dawn of Christianity to the consummation of all things. Each of these judgments is marked by one common symptom—a pro-

cess of separation between elements that have hitherto been undistinguished. Three classes of such judgments or separations may be pointed out. They may perhaps be described as individual, social, and national. The first is the separation of the wheat from the chaff. It is announced by the Baptist as that which is to form the distinctive feature of Christ's first coming: "Whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and will gather the wheat into his garner, but will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire." It is in this sense that Christ speaks at times of the day of judgment as something which in his incarnation had been already fulfilled: "Now is the judgment of this world." His first coming was to begin the great work of separation, and it was to begin in the individual soul. It was to divide between the wheat and the chaff, between that which was natural and that which was artificial in the heart of each man. It was to reveal to human nature that there was in it something which was perishable, and something which was eternal; a life bounded by the interests of the day and hour, and a life above all changes and beyond all boundaries. In the presence of the Son of Man the soul was to learn what was and what was not eternal. It was to see humanity stripped by the fire of God of all that the world calls glory, despised, rejected, forsaken, mocked, scourged, crucified, yet remaining in its abasement King over all. In that vision the wheat was to be separated from the chaff, the life of a man was to be distinguished from the abundance of the things he possesseth. It was to be told what was and what was not the secret of immortality—how much a human soul could lose without losing that which made it a soul. Humanity surviving Calvary is the wheat outliving the chaff. This is the *first* day of judgment.

The second is the separation of the wheat from the *tares*. It is a more pronounced division than the first. That was

individual, this is social. That only reached to the difference between the real and the apparent; this relates to the severance of the false from the true. That was to have its fulfilment in Christian experience at the hour of Christ's first coming; this is only to begin to shew itself "at the end of the age," i.e. at the fall of the Jewish commonwealth. It is then that the reapers are to divide those elements which have grown together until the harvest. It is then that a Christian society is to stand out in the world as a distinct thing. It is then that the divergence is to be clearly marked between the Church of the Old Testament and the Church of the New. Before this time they had been confounded by the Gentiles, and sometimes even by themselves. But with the fall of Jerusalem there could be no more confusion. Christianity would then stand alone and speak for herself. She would be freed from the reproach of Judaism. She would be separated from the narrowness and exclusiveness which obscured the revelation of her universal charity. She would be dissociated from that reverence of angel and archangel which tended to rob the soul of the joy of direct communion, and would be ushered into that sense of glorious liberty which comes from being in contact with the Object of our worship. The division of the old society from the new is the *second* day of judgment.

But there is a *third*, a final stage of the kingdom of God. It is described as the division of the sheep from the goats, and is distinguished from the other two in being a separation, not of thoughts in the individual soul, nor of societies in the order of the world, but of *Nations*. "Before him shall be *gathered all nations*," are the striking words in which it is portrayed. *Gathering* is not a single act but a series of acts; it suggests a gradual process worked out by time and development. And, indeed, throughout the New Testament this seems to be the prevailing conception

title, for the printing-office, which has served to the entire essay as a starting-point, must now pass from sight, to give place to the wider subject which is its goal. I am painfully aware of the danger which I hereby incur of drawing upon myself the reproof of Apelles to the cobbler; but still, as the foregoing statements are so far novel that they hint at a compromise where compromise had been supposed impossible, I may be borne with if I seek, I trust without undue presumption, to pursue my argument to its legitimate issue. Perhaps of more importance, however, than the whole of these individual deductions is that deliverance of the mind from the ultra-veneration for Codices B and ~~N~~ which results from recognition of the extensive corruptness of the earlier manuscripts. When once the critical judgment is emancipated from this tyranny and enabled to look impartially at the whole evidence in every case, then, though it may often be that no one of the above principles suggests an elucidation, some other circumstance, either sought for or for the first time allowed its due weight, will still induce a different conclusion from the one to which modern practice would conduct. To form some rough idea for my own satisfaction, I have gone through the tabulated readings, about sixty in number, cited by Canon Cook against the Revised Version in his recent work on the Synoptic Gospels; and I find that in some three-fifths of the instances I can agree with him, and in the remaining two-fifths with the Revisers,—or, as several of the readings are marginal only, I hold, in respect of the new *text*, about as often one way as the other. This statement is by no means made from the delusion that any intrinsic value will be attached to it, but simply with a view to exhibiting in a tangible form the position I am really taking in regard to each of the opposing schools. On the one hand I see a number of scholars, of whom I trust I shall always both speak and feel with the utmost deference and veneration,

but whom I cannot but hold to have made far too light of certain facts most weighty and insuperable. They found themselves in the presence of two manuscripts undeniably older than any others, exhibiting a text very considerably in mutual accord, and marked by the two striking features which they regarded as paramount attestations of genuineness because proclaiming upon the very surface the non-interference of editorial hands. Hence they were led—in practice at least, though protesting the reverse in theory—to shut their eyes to the abounding demonstrations that *other* than editorial corrupting forces had been at work, and to make of textual criticism a comparatively simple science whose entire rationale could be almost expressed by the formula, The reading of Codex B except where a shorter or more awkward one can be found elsewhere. On the other hand there appear a body of learned theologians who feel themselves called upon to resist the modern system tooth and nail, through the timid though pious conviction that by upsetting the old traditional lines it unsettles the minds of men, and is thus liable, practically though undesignedly, to assail the outworks of Revelation itself. They esteem it as by a providential ordering that a multitude of mediæval manuscripts have come down to us which exhibit a general accordance with the text ecclesiastically received; and they refuse to recognize as also by providential ordering the fact that other manuscripts of vastly weightier authority have been more recently disinterred and one after another presented for our use. Having regard to the strong convictions expressed upon both sides, we may well believe that “in medio tutissimus” may prove, as so often, a serviceable proverb; and that while thus our decisions may need rarely to be swayed by authorities later than the fifth century, we may well look with suspicion upon any course of procedure which leads us largely and long together away from the text which is our inheritance from the past.

A compromise then is our desideratum; is there any common ground discoverable upon which the opposing views of facts may at length be brought into harmony? I think there does exist that which with a little adjustment may be so applied. It seems at first an inexplicable pair of paradoxes that the one side should tell us of an "attempt at a *judicious* selection from rival texts" made at the Syrian Recension, while yet assuming that event to have been exclusively disastrous; and that the other should point to the wholesale corruption of the copies existing before the assigned Syrian date—so that not only all the Greek codices of that period which have been preserved, but those which were used by Clement, Justin, Origen, and Eusebius, by "Irenæus and the African Fathers and the whole Western with a portion of the Syrian Church" (the words are Dr. Scrivener's), were literally teeming with blunders—and yet placidly maintain that a text substantially agreeing with the Received was from first to last dominant and assured. There is certainly the greatest difficulty, as this latter side have shewn, in accepting the fact of a formal and authoritative recension of which no trace of a record can be found; but it will be fully as hard for them as it is for their antagonists to account for the sudden disappearance of the "wholesale corruption" without the aid of some such explanatory hypothesis. If impurity was rampant everywhere till the middle of the fourth century, but after that date not only did new corruptions cease but the old ones were cleansed away and manuscripts generally returned to the original and unperverted text, there must have been some definite event, and not a mere "survival of the fittest," which caused so remarkable a revolution to come about. We only require, then, to hold the one side to ever so qualified a use of their epithet "*judicious*," and to remove the historical objection from the eyes of the other, in order to obtain in this recension the actual basis upon

which we seek to agree. May I therefore venture to suggest a modification of the theory of Dr. Hort, which, without presenting the same serious difficulties, seems equally capable of accounting for the change? But another event, opening the way to this, must claim our consideration first.

Canon Cook has recently furnished us with a glowing and interesting account of the occurrence which he terms "the Eusebian Recension," or the transcription, under the direction of Eusebius, of fifty manuscripts at Cæsarea in about the year 334. Our Codices B and N he gives strong reasons for supposing to be two of the actual copies then produced, and there is probably no special occasion for the other side to object to his view. I cannot however allow that the conditions of haste, on which he so much dwells, are either necessary or adequate for explanation of the characteristics which those codices so distinctively present. Quite enough, I submit, has been herein offered already to account for corruptions far worse than theirs; and we have heard of no similar hypothesis being surmised for explaining the much grosser errors of manuscripts of the Western type. Then as to this matter of urgent haste, I cannot but feel that it is pressed by the learned Canon very far beyond its importance. We printers' readers ought to be the first to avow the incompatibility of haste with accuracy; but our one great reason for abhorring the former requirement is our consciousness that it is only in the veriest trifles that any abatement on its account will be allowed us in the latter. Nor is it conceivable that a bishop, characterized by the honesty which Canon Cook so ungrudgingly ascribes to Eusebius, could have wilfully allowed any pressure as to time to pass as an excuse for sacrificing accuracy to its claims. But this is not all, and the case soon shews itself to be a complicated one. It is obviously impossible to attribute the whole of the observed discrepancies to the

hurry of that one occasion, from the simple fact that in the majority of instances both these codices read alike. A portion therefore are assigned to systematic cutting-down—a theory however which seems even less commendable than that of culpable haste, since such proceeding, if perpetrated at all, would amount to just so *much* as to render its concealment by Eusebius a fraud, and yet so *little* that in the light of a practical abridgment the result would be ridiculously inappreciable. And then again, while the readings in the two manuscripts prove a large degree of community of origin, there is also so constant a manifestation of *difference* that they could not possibly have been transcribed from one single copy; and yet who can suppose that if Eusebius had been really pressed to the extent represented, he would not, with all the resources of royalty at command, have assembled the fifty scribes within a single room and had his own prepared copy multiplied identically by dictation? By this means he would have saved enormously in time, and would have gained greatly in accuracy as well; whilst if he had really been producing a “recension” of his own, what means could have been so simple for carrying this into full effect? Nor, lastly, are the readings of B and N, with one or two exceptions, such as could for a moment be regarded as having arisen from doctrinal causes. The learned Canon speaks of the Arian tendencies of Eusebius, but he candidly admits that he can find no definite evidence of them in these readings; on the contrary, the instance in which he makes the strongest point of doctrinal motive—the omission of the account of the agony in Gethsemane—is one for which not the Arians but the orthodox are the parties charged. It is obvious however—I am indebted to the courtesy of the Rev. Dr. Salmon for drawing my attention to the point—that Canon Cook is thinking of Arianism as practically identical with Unitarianism, of

which in reality it was "absolutely the reverse" and lying "rather in the direction of Ditheism." It had accordingly no scruple whatever in giving our Lord the title of "God," and in fact, says Dr. Salmon, "the Arians were willing to use such high language about our Lord that when it was wanted to exclude them from the church it became necessary to insist on the non-scriptural word *Homoousios*. I do not believe," he adds, "that the Arian controversy affected New Testament readings on the one side or the other, not even in the case of 'God manifest in the flesh.'" As to such changes therefore as that of inserting a point in Romans ix. 5—with which B and N have simply nothing to do—or the most important omission referred to in the next paragraph, it is clear that the genuine Arian would be the last person to accord them the slightest favour; while as to the class of heretic whom Canon Cook has in mind, it may suffice in reply to refer to two readings of these codices which tend very decisively in the opposite direction: there is the famous *μονογενὴς Θεός* in John i. 18, peculiar to these two and C, and the *ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ* in Acts xx. 28, which among the most ancient authorities is furnished by these two alone. No doubt the *real* Arian would prefer these readings, and thus, strangely enough, they support Canon Cook's theory in the letter by means of establishing the very opposite in spirit. At all events the proclivities of this "recension" towards *degrading* the Saviour must at the worst have been very feeble ones indeed.

But I fear that this hypothesis has been mainly propounded with a view to accounting for the omission of the closing twelve verses of the Gospel of Mark, the integrity of which, as gauged by a standard of quantity rather than quality, is apparently regarded by the conservative school as the very centre of the position to be maintained. I have already stated that I cannot go with them in this,

and whilst no one disputes the great antiquity of the verses, it perplexes me how any one can deliberately insist that they are strictly homogeneous with the book which they conclude. This is not the place, nor am I the writer, to discuss their possible canonicity (though, with the authorship not even guessed at, this *can* only be a matter of opinion); but the awkward transition with which they read even in English seems sufficient evidence that they were not written with the rest of the Gospel, though possibly they may in part be a reproduction of a lost conclusion of the Evangelist's own. The blank left in Codex B, so far from being a triumphant proof of the dishonesty of the scribe or his master, is actually in one sense a stronger testimony against the genuineness of the verses, demonstrating as it does that their omission was not owing to accident: doubtless they were known to exist but believed to be spurious, and the blank was left either in case the original conclusion should come to light or simply as denoting that the Gospel was incomplete. And if to a first hasty glance Canon Cook seems to have made a point by citing, by the side of this omission, that also of the notice of the Ascension in Luke, the very slightest inspection of the facts causes the theory of doctrinal tampering to break down at once; for whilst it is only the scribe of B who has left out the record of the Ascension in Mark (he having re-written for \aleph the sheet from which the twelve verses are missing—and that apparently for the express purpose of omitting them), it is \aleph itself on the contrary which omits that record in Luke, and the scribe of B not only gives it correctly in his own manuscript, but, as the diorthota of the other, he promptly *supplies the omission there*. A more complete refutation of the charge of theological interference—whether on the part of Eusebius himself or of *either* of his transcribers—could surely not be desired; while even if there had been a grain of plausi-

bility left it, this also ought to evaporate before the circumstantial account, untouched in either codex, to be read in the first chapter of the Acts (to say nothing of the pointed statement in the opening of the Epistle to the Hebrews).

Not then in the theory of extensive change, designed or accidental, attending a "Eusebian Recension" shall we find any appreciable explanation of the great phenomena of textual evidence. In turning however from this point I feel bound to acknowledge my indebtedness, in the preparation of this paper, to the work of Canon Cook just referred to; and the same opportunity may be taken in regard to the several learned and courteous divines who have offered me valuable hints as it has been passing through the press. We come then to the consideration of what element of probable fact we are to recognise in the "Syrian Recension." I have already remarked that without something of the kind we seem involved in a hopeless mystery; and yet it has most powerfully contributed in my own case to breaking company upon other points with the school of its supporters. If then after the close, about 335, of Eusebius's work of transcription at Cæsarea, we have an assumed recension at Antioch somewhere about 350, does not the suggestion force itself upon us that the one event may have grown out of the other? True that no bishops and fathers appear to have then met in solemn conclave for the formal decision of the text; yet what could have been more likely than that the more active and intelligent of his own collaborators, struck by the profusion of various readings which the labours of Eusebius had brought into juxtaposition, should have resolved to utilise this unprecedented opportunity for revising their own working copies and especially for supplying those additional words or passages which they found to exist in such abundance elsewhere? Working in concord would however be obviously their first essential,

and thus *every* addition, genuine or spurious, would be everywhere supplied, and the more prominent of other variations would be also mutually conformed. A very unscientific mode of procedure undoubtedly this was, but why it is to be quietly assumed that it was always or even generally a work of deterioration is what I am simply at a loss to conceive. The theory—I mean Dr. Hort's—breaks down all ideas of a higher antiquity of B and N as compared with the other sources of the Textus Receptus, and places them, or their originals, on the very same level with those others which the Syrian editors preferred ; thus confessing that the priority claimed for the text of the former is a deduction of *mental evolution alone*. And if the eight instances of conflate readings were increased to eight hundred, and all of these were as incontestable as some of the eight are suspicious, I maintain that the case would continue in practically the same position. Conflation—to which I have not an atom of objection as a most likely incident in the revising process, but one whose results must be *individually* tested as lax repetitions or genuine restorations—proves or renders probable just so much as this : that if all the authorities anterior to the recension give a passage in one of its shorter forms, then any manuscript presenting the longer one contains *elements* of a Syrian character ; but as to the whole of that manuscript's readings being thereby stamped as Syrian, still less as to all Syrian readings being set down as essentially *spurious*, I fail to see that, beyond the preference for shorter and harder, the slightest atom of reason has been assigned. Of that preference itself it has been the main purport of these papers to demonstrate the mistake : shorter and harder are only purer when viewed as against editorial corruptions, and it is not these, but those of transcribers, which really form the vast majority of the whole. When therefore an esteemed adviser represents to me that good manuscripts were at the recension

"corrected by inferior ones," and that B and N, though "blundering copies," are "copies of the best archetype that we can trace," it seems sufficient to reply, What constitutes inferiority? and what can we know or use of a lost archetype except as we find it reproduced in its descendants? Of the earlier courses of manuscript transmission we seem enabled tolerably to conceive—copyists' errors by wholesale on the one hand, and on the other a preliminary series of private recensions at which, in its most essential features, the greater subsequent drama was in rehearsal. And when we have mounted, by means of concurrent readings, to the archetypal copy from which the lines of B and N diverged at the first, what have we grasped but a codex in which copyists have been left to their own sweet will, and omission, substitution, and transposition have already effectually done their work?

But to return at length to the work of the recension itself. Dr. Hort supposes Antioch to have been the locality of its occurrence, and though my own surmise would transfer at least its commencement to Cæsarea, we may readily gather how natural it would be for its influence to be carried at once from thence to the former city. They were both Levantine ports (practically at least, for Seleucia was "the port of Antioch"), and thus, though two hundred and fifty miles apart, enjoying what for those days was an exceptional amount of intercommunication; whilst Eusebius, who was actual bishop of the one, was engaged in prolonged controversy with churchmen in the other, the far more important bishopric of which he came in fact to have offered to him. Thus the quietly accomplished work at Cæsarea could not fail to be promptly transmitted to Antioch, where it is quite conceivable, if the conception be required, that it continued for a while to undergo further revision—nay, it is fully possible that the actual leaders in the work may themselves have been Antiochian residents

who had, at Eusebius's desire, gone specially to Cæsarea to assist. And so these modifications, being in no case ecclesiastical changes, but mere adoptions of longer or easier readings which all possessed manuscript authority of some sort, would be very likely in an uncritical age to be accepted at once as improvements not open to question, till in a business sense the "revised edition of the New Testament" would come into general demand, and, spreading quickly from centre to centre, would form the basis of our normal text. As Eusebius died in 340 we can feel no surprise at the omission of any mention of it by him; and Chrysostom, though presbyter at Antioch, was not born till about 347, so that long before he became interested in such matters it was in all probability quite a thing of the past. Athanasius and the Jerusalem Cyril certainly *might* have referred to it, and so perhaps might Basil and the two Gregories. But bibliography in the fourth century was not what it is in the nineteenth. In those days it bore mainly upon burning church questions, and seems never to have concerned itself with individual editions of the Scriptures except to denounce two or three of them as corrupted with heretical intent.

I have thus sought to shew, on the one hand, how easy it is for manuscripts, valuable as wholes, to contain long arrays of blunders in their details, and on the other, for a text, formed on the most unscientific of methods, to be none the less very frequently in the right. I feel justified, then, at the conclusion of my task, in respectfully calling upon critics to review the positions they have taken—not only as to the purity of Codex B, but as to the grounds upon which that supposed purity is based. As a corrector of the press I can but reiterate the assertion that, unless we can feel assured of a strict and continuous comparison with the copy having been made, no evidence of general carefulness in the copyist can be assumed as a security against even

gross mistakes. I well remember a compositor who would set page after page of Whiston's "Demosthenes" with scarcely an accent wrong or a point misplaced, but yet in every thirtieth line or so would omit from three to thirty words by homœotel. And equally free from doubt are my deductions as to the facility with which awkward readings come in by accident, so that I must take upon me to plead with those I am addressing to abandon the paradox that "the unlikeliest reading is the likeliest," and to be content with substituting the more moderate canon, "A difficult reading must be dismissed with *more hesitation* than an easier one." The "Procliviori præstat ardua" is certainly not to be relied upon as a universal rule, and a far sounder result would often be reached by regarding as the foremost of all probabilities that of the Evangelist or Apostle having written an intelligible and fairly constructed sentence.

If, then, the science of textual criticism is ever to become a thing upon which scholars can agree, it will require, though by no means to be made easier, to take in a very much wider field. Not wider in time however, but only in material, for it is now admitted that there exists but an insignificant interval between the ages of B and N on the one hand and of A and C on the other; whilst the early fathers and versions and the evidence derived from subjective reasoning will also require to be carefully weighed before our nearest approach to accuracy can be attained. Intrinsic probability, including the readiest method of accounting for variations, ought, I submit, to take precedence of discrimination between individual authorities; though we have generally sufficient of these as old as the fifth century to allow us to view the others as only an occasional check. Then too, though I say it in direct opposition to one who has been among the most valued of my counsellors—I am permitted the liberty of naming the Rev. Dr. Sanday—the applauded standard of an ideal

consistency will require, in its present shape, to be utterly banished from the field. Instead of depreciating Alford for "want of principle and attempt to treat each case simply by itself," let us rather go beyond him in his own distinctive method and boldly advance the rule of individual analysis as the only basis upon which sound criticism can be built. The true text is assuredly too widely scattered, and the causes of its scattering are too multitudinous, for its approximate discovery to be ever effected by rigid adherence to any single line: nay, it may even be questioned whether any two doubtful readings exist as to which all the leading authorities and all the internal considerations are strictly and undeviatingly the same. The reliance therefore upon some particular manuscripts tested only by some particular canons is a tacit admission that the true text is beyond the editor's power to discover, so that he is fain to content himself with an artificial semblance which we are asked not so much believingly to accept as to admire for its unswerving devotion to rule. Consistency indeed, in its genuine form, a printer's reader should be the last person to decry, and the critic who openly sets it at nought will be a sport of the winds surpassing Tischendorf himself. But when what is meant is only an objective consistency—a consistency which maintains that the three leading manuscripts are to be followed in reading "the only-begotten God" because they have been followed in so many places besides—then it is time to denounce it as a narrow and a misleading consistency, a premature verdict from a mere fraction of the evidence, and a closing of the eyes to the really weightiest part of the case. And along with other reforms do let our critics have the courage to abandon their disdain of whatever lies beyond the cold region of science, and let them be willing plainly to propound the question, Which reading is the most *desirable* to stand, as harmonizing best with the con-

text or with what we have fair ground for expecting in itself? I do not ask for evidence to be forced in this behalf, but do let there be an end made to that untoward system of seeking for whatever tends most violently the other way. For there does exist, in respect of such investigations, an innate feeling on the part of most of us which recoils from submitting the words that have brought blessings to many to the repulsive testings of mere diplomatic criticism. Can we not witness, indeed, how each time that such discussions have come before us—

like a man in wrath, the heart
Stood up and answered, "I have felt" ?

Let this sentiment, then, receive its proper recognition, and, under the control of a matured judgment, it may be trusted to point often to the result which will yield the truest ultimate satisfaction.

ALFRED WATTS.

ON PHILIPPIANS i. 22.

THE interesting remarks made by Canon Evans, in the February number of the *EXPOSITOR*, on the *μισθός* which St. Paul was anticipating, suggest to me to crave a little space in order to state briefly what seems to me a probable interpretation of the difficult words which form the first half of Philippians i. 22.

Verses 21 to 24 stands thus in the Greek: (21) Ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὸ ζῆν Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος. (22) εἰ δὲ τὸ ζῆν ἐν σαρκί, τοῦτό μοι καρπὸς ἔργου καὶ τί αἰρήσομαι οὐ γνωρίζω. (23) συνέχομαι δὲ ἐκ τῶν δύο, τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχων εἰς τὸ ἀναλῦσαι καὶ σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι. (24) πολλῶ [γὰρ] μᾶλλον κρείσσον· 24 τὸ δὲ ἐπιμένειν [ἐν] τῇ σαρκὶ ἀναγκαϊότερον δι' ὑμᾶς.

The first two of these verses—it suffices to quote those two in the English—are given in the Authorized Version thus: "For to me to live *is* Christ, and to die *is* gain. But if I live in the flesh, this *is* the fruit of my labour; yet what I shall choose I wot not."

The Revised Version keeps the same rendering of ver. 21, but translates ver. 22 in the text as follows: "But if to live in the flesh,—*if* this is the fruit of my work, then what I shall choose I wot not;" with this alternative in the margin: "But if to live in the flesh *be my lot*, this is the fruit of my work: and what I shall choose I wot not." A further alternative, agreeing with Westcott and Hort's marginal punctuation, καὶ τί αἰρήσωμαι; is, "What shall I choose?"

It is unnecessary to discuss all the other interpretations that have been proposed, involving also other varieties of punctuation. They are sufficiently familiar to the readers of the EXPOSITOR, or can easily be found by turning to Lightfoot and to the commentators cited by Alford.

The suggestion I have to make is twofold. First, the "is" supplied before "fruit" may have some light thrown upon it by the "is" similarly supplied twice in ver. 21; in all three clauses there is no ἔστι in the Greek. Secondly, it may help if we translate more literally.

1. As to this "is." It is obvious that in "to live is Christ" and "to die is gain" (just as in the Old Testament apophthegm, "The fear of the Lord is to hate evil") the "is" is not a copula connecting two simply equivalent terms, as if I say "Sodium Chloride is Common Salt," or "The Exile of St. Helena is Napoleon," the terms being what the logicians call *singular*. Nor do we hit the true sense—at any rate not in the first of these two clauses—if we attempt to take the predicate as *undistributed*: we may say "to die is a gain," but no such turn can be given to the other clause. It is clear that we must look for assistance to rhetoric rather than to logic. The "is" means more than "is," and each proposition is pregnant with a fathomless depth of meaning. It is as though the Apostle should say, "If I live, that *implies* that my whole life, every power of my being, all I am and all I have, is consecrated to the service of Christ and hallowed by his love; and if I die, that *means* not death, but entering into the joy of my Lord and sharing all that wealth of love and bliss and holiness with which He rewards his faithful servants—losing my life, as some might judge, but with a loss that brings infinite gain." I propose a similar interpretation of τοῦτό μοι καρπὸς ἔργου.

2. But, moreover, it may fairly be questioned whether anything is gained by the repetition of "if," as in the Revised Version; and,

still more, whether the meaning is not seriously obscured by the imported "the" and "my." Is there not a good and consistent sense in the simpler form—taking the understood *ἐν* as *means* or *implies*, as in the two clauses preceding—"This means fruit of work."

"To live," says the Apostle, "means to be devoted to Christ and to enjoy his companionship and love: to die means to go into his more immediate presence and to be enriched with incalculable wealth. Aye, but even now if I live, to live even thus in the flesh means enjoyment—coupled with and springing from work. Fruit, exquisite fruit, sweetening the toil. Toil, but I add no epithet; hard and weary toil I may deem it at times, but in comparison with the harvest He permits me to reap that is as nothing; call it work merely: fruit—abundant, delicious, fragrant, reviving—that comes to sustain and comfort me, if still it be his will that I live in the flesh. The joy is so intense, I know not which to choose, the joy of such work on earth or the joy of rest in heaven. My desire and longing is to be with Christ. That is very far better for *me*, but what of *you*? For your sake I shall remain—remain to enjoy communion with you and carry on Christ's work in your midst."

Believing this to be the true sense of the passage, I would render: "But if to live in the flesh (be my lot), this implies fruit for me of work." This appears to me to be perfectly in harmony with the context, and simpler than any other interpretation I have met with. We are now no longer obliged to recognize, with Lightfoot, "abrupt and disjointed sentences," or to consider that "the grammar of the passage reflects the conflict of feeling in the Apostle's mind." Nor are we now distressed with such a notion as the Revised Version seems to convey, that the fruit of his labour which the Apostle desired or anticipated was simply prolonged life on earth. With all my admiration for the Revised Version as a whole, its rendering of this passage seems to me eminently unsatisfactory.

R. F. WEYMOUTH.

BRIEF NOTICES.

A DICTIONARY OF CHRISTIAN BIOGRAPHY, LITERATURE, SECTS, AND DOCTRINES DURING THE FIRST EIGHT CENTURIES, *Edited by Dr. William Smith and Rev. Henry Wace, D.D.* (London: John Murray.) The recent issue of the third volume of this important work gives us an opportunity of recommending it very heartily to our readers. It is a noble monument of English scholarship and erudition. Dr. Salmon's contributions to it, *e.g.* his articles on Hippolytus, Lencius, Marcion, and the Muratorian Fragment, have a special force and value. And, indeed, most of its articles are marked by sound critical judgment, as well as by solid learning; while such essays as those on the Holy Ghost, Irenæus, Jerome, Justin Martyr, and Muhammad (though one hardly sees what right *he* has to a place, and so large a place, in *Christian* biography), would confer distinction on any Cyclopædia in which they were found. In England, at all events, this Dictionary has no rival. Even in Germany itself it has, so far as we know, no peer.

AN OLD TESTAMENT COMMENTARY FOR ENGLISH READERS, *Edited by Bishop Ellicott.* (London: Cassells.) The high quality of Cassell's *New Testament Commentary for English Readers*, made the prospect of a companion work on the *Old Testament* Scriptures, under the same editorial care, very welcome. But we cannot honestly say that as yet the latter has touched the high mark reached by the former. Volume I. opens with a judicious and well written preface by Dr. Ellicott, in which he asserts that the two great objects of the Commentary will be to bring home the life and power of God's Word to those who believe, and to meet the difficulties—scientific, historical, and moral—of sincere sceptics; this second aim being, as he adds, of special importance in dealing with the Old Testament. The Preface, therefore, is full of promise; for what should be the aims of any good commentary if not these? But the promise of its opening pages is hardly fulfilled in the bulk of the volume. In handling *Genesis*, the Dean of Canterbury does, indeed, bring forward many familiar and approved answers to the difficulties by which that Scripture is beset; but the answers are neither original nor profound, and do not include even the forcible and well-known arguments of Godet and Newman Smyth, which were summarized, not without some valuable additions of his own,

by *Peloni Almoni* in the last volume of this Magazine.¹ Dr. Rawlinson writes on *Exodus* in a manner which shews his familiarity with ancient history rather than any very keen or deep spiritual insight; but he makes no contribution toward a solution of the critical problem of its date and authorship, which may not be found in previous commentaries of slenderer pretensions. In his brief Introduction to *Leviticus*, the legislation of which he handles with abundant learning and skill, Dr. Ginsburg is allowed to say, "I do not believe that the Book of *Leviticus*, in its present form, was written by Moses," but finds himself precluded, by "the plan of this Commentary," from stating what his own conclusion really is, or giving the reasons which have led him to it. While Canon Elliott, in his belated exposition of *Numbers*, actually reproduces all the antiquated and absurd misconstructions of Balaam's character and actions, which were exposed in pages 7-9 of the present volume of THE EXPOSITOR, errors so open, gross, and palpable, that our exposure of them went near to being struck out as no longer necessary!

Apart from all these questions of the higher criticism, the work, always excepting that of Canon Elliott, is fairly good, the expositions of *Genesis* and *Leviticus* being by far the best; although, on the whole, and as commentaries go now, we cannot pronounce the average level it attains a high one. But if every work is to be judged by its avowed aims, it is impossible to say that the professed aims of this Commentary have, for the present, been adequately wrought out. There is, however, plenty of time, as well as room, for improvement; and from the names of some of the contributors to the forthcoming volumes, we gladly augur that at least some of these volumes will much more nearly approach to the high mark set up in the Preface, and fairly reached on the whole in the companion Commentary on the New Testament.

¹ See the Essay, entitled *And God Created Great Whales*, in vol. iv. of this Series.

BALAAM: AN EXPOSITION AND A STUDY.

II. THE SUPPLEMENTARY SCRIPTURES.

WE have now studied the Chronicle from end to end; and if it has not thrown so much new light on the character of Balaam as we had hoped to gain from it, it must at least have served to sharpen and define our conceptions of the man, and so to set the problem of his character more fairly before us. And as we now turn to the Scriptures concerning him which lie outside this Chronicle, I do not see how we can better prepare ourselves for studying them than by summing up, in a few brief sentences, the impression which the Chronicle itself has left upon us.

Upon the whole, then, I think it has left a very favourable impression. In its earlier sections, indeed, we found some faint hints that Balaam wanted, that at least he was quite willing, to curse the people whom he was compelled to bless; and that if he loved righteousness, he also loved the wages of unrighteousness: while his loud and frequent vaunts of loyalty to the Divine Will suggested that an obedience which protested so much might not be altogether beyond suspicion. In his conferences with the ambassadors of Balak, he seemed to be letting "I dare not" wait upon "I would"; while in his journey to Moab, and above all in his adventure with the Angel and the Ass, we saw only too much reason to fear that "I would" was beginning to get the better of "I dare not," and that he was plotting how to gratify Balak without openly rebelling against Jehovah. But from this point onwards, from the moment in which the dumb ass rebuked the madness of the Prophet, we

found nothing to allege against him, but much to approve and admire. In all his intercourse with Balak he shewed "an incorrigible and losing honesty," a veracity, a fidelity to the words which the Lord had put into his mouth that never wavered, although it would have been easy for him to palter with words in a double sense, and to utter oracles as musical in the ear of his listeners, and as false to the hopes which they inspired, as were many of those which proceeded from the shrines of Delphi and Dodona.

His last oracle has little value for us save as it proves him to have been a veritable seer, able to penetrate the future and foretell things to come. Here he utters definite forecasts, which project into a far-distant future, and so gives us an opportunity to determine whether or not he was endowed with the power he claimed and was believed to possess. Israel, he says, is to conquer all its enemies, to rise into an uncontested supremacy and exercise an unchallenged dominion over them. Edom is to be smitten on both flanks, Amalek to be destroyed. The faithful Kenites, who had attached themselves to the fortunes of Israel, when Israel was destitute and helpless, are to dwell in a home still more secure than the nest in the rocks which they had left to cast in their lot with that of the chosen people. The Assyrians, who, in the remote future are to subjugate and enthrall both the Hebrews and the Kenites, will themselves be humbled by some great Western Power; and even this Power—the Macedonian—is in its turn to be destroyed under a pressure too vague and distant for him to define. These predictions are so definite and precise that any one who cares may bring him to book upon them; and they are so far beyond the reach of that prophetic strain to which age and a wide experience of the ways of God with men sometimes attain that, if they were fulfilled—and we have seen that they *were* fulfilled—it is impossible to deny that Balaam was a true prophet even in the vulgar sense of that

word, and must have received his knowledge from the Most High.

But it is in his earlier oracles that both the true character of the man and the real greatness of the prophet come out ; for that which makes men good is the very quality which makes prophets great. It lies not in foresight, but in insight ; not in forecasting the exact form and pressure of the time to be, but in the power to grasp the moral order of the universe with a loyal heart. It is in the mastery of ethical principles, and not in mere intellectual capacity or illumination, that a prophet's highest glory consists. And, judged by this admitted canon, it must be confessed that, in his oracles, Balaam takes a high place in the goodly fellowship, though not by any means the highest. From the first of these remarkable utterances we gathered that it was *the holiness* of Israel by which he was attracted and impressed, even more than by their numbers or their power. We gathered that he had learned, what many Christian men and statesmen have not learned even yet, that Righteousness is the true strength of a nation, not wealth, nor dominion, nor culture even. It is because he sees that righteousness is the end and aim of Israel that he longs to share their ideal, to live their life, to die their death, and feels that nothing short of a life conformed to the Divine law can bring him peace at the last.

This conviction culminates in his Second Oracle, in which, therefore, we find our most solid and valuable contributions to an adequate conception of the man. For it is here that we meet with three striking sentences which should largely influence our final estimate of him, although hitherto, so far as I am aware, no emphasis has been laid upon them. First of all he tells us that *no iniquity is to be described in Jacob*, and that hence *no distress is to be seen in Israel*.¹ And how could he more impressively announce his per-

¹ Numbers xxiii. 21.

suasion that while Sin is the source of weakness and misery, Righteousness is the one source of strength, happiness, and peace, whether to a man or to a nation? Still more striking and suggestive is the sentence in which he disavows a power commonly ascribed to him, and confesses that when Jehovah has blessed he cannot *reverse* the blessing.¹ For this was precisely what a soothsayer was expected to do, what it was universally believed that he could do. What was he good for if he could not curse men who, because they were strong in wealth or power, were held to be in favour with Heaven? A soothsayer who could not control events as well as foresee them, who could not shape as well as forecast the future, who could not evade or overrule the benign intention of a god by magic arts or by calling in some higher celestial influence, was not a soothsayer at all to the vulgar, or even to the princely² mind of that age. And, therefore, to find a soothsayer confessing that he cannot reverse as well as predict the currents of human destiny, is to find a man so frank and honourable, so true to himself, to God, and to men, as to abjure a most potent art, an almost unrivalled power over the conduct and fortunes of his fellows, rather than trade in their superstitions and fears. Balaam never shews a more righteous and disinterested spirit than in this costly sacrifice on the altar of truth. But most striking of all is the sentence in which he ascribes the righteousness and consequent blessedness of the elect people to the fact, that there was *no augury in Jacob, nor any divination in Israel*; that instead of trying, as *he* had done, to surprise or force the secrets of the future, they waited until *in due time it was told to Israel what God doeth*.³ For this was to condemn the very gift of which he had been most proud. It was to confess that the main study and aim of his life had been one which rather diverted him from a righteous and patient obedience to the will of

¹ Numbers xxiii. 20.² *Ibid.* xxii. 6.³ *Ibid.* xxiii. 23.

God than conducted him to it. No more remarkable confession ever fell from a diviner's lips than this censure on the art of divination ; and in making it Balaam rose into a far higher and nobler mood than when, with tranced but open eye, he saw visions from the Almighty, and there fell upon his inward ear words from God.

In his Third Oracle, although in delivering it he seems to have been more utterly possessed by the Divine afflatus than before, and though the Spirit of God *came* upon him with overmastering force, Balaam simply repeats, and repeats in the same figures and phrases he had previously employed, his old affirmation that Righteousness, and Righteousness alone, is the secret of strength and peace. He does not now so much as go out to look for auguries. God has shewn him his will, and that is enough ; no omen could persuade him of any change in that high and constant Will. He is content to reaffirm the truth he has already affirmed ; only now he is more sure of it than ever, puts his whole soul into the affirmation of it, and is more profoundly conscious that he has "the mind of the Spirit" in declaring that righteousness is the one power which redeems and uplifts men, unrighteousness the secret and cause of all their miseries.

These are the more notable and significant results of our study of the Chronicle of Balaam, and on the whole the Scriptures which lie outside it do but expand the hints and develop the germs of character which we have found in the Chronicle itself ; though it must be acknowledged that, while one of them lends new lustre to the loftier aspects of the man, most of them add to its baser aspects shades so dark and repulsive as to explain why his character has been regarded as a well-nigh insoluble enigma.

I. Let us take the *adverse* Scriptures first, the Scriptures which darken and degrade our conception of him.

(1) We have gathered from the Chronicle that Balaam *wanted*, or at best was quite willing, *to curse Israel*. The faint hints and suggestions of this evil bent and disposition of his mind which the Chronicle contains would not, however, have counted for much. We might have doubted our construction of them had they not been confirmed in the most explicit way, in the most damning sense, by at least three passages of Holy Writ. Thus in Deuteronomy xxiii. 4, 5, we read that no Moabite was to be admitted into the congregation of Israel, "because they met you not with bread and with water in the way when ye came forth out of Egypt; and because they *hired* Balaam, the son of Beor. . . . to curse thee. Nevertheless the Lord thy God *would not hearken unto Balaam*, but the Lord thy God *turned the curse into a blessing* because he loved thee." Of the implication of these words there can be little doubt. Read sincerely, without any prejudice for or against the man, they surely charge Balaam with having endeavoured to extort the consent of Jehovah to a curse he was eager to pronounce; while they ascribe it purely to the love of Jehovah for Israel that He would not hearken to the prayers of Balaam, but turned the curse he would have willingly uttered into a blessing he was reluctant to pronounce. It seems impossible to infer less from them than this: that had Balaam been left to follow his own impulse, to take his own course, it was anything but a benediction which he would have pronounced over the camp of Israel, and that the spirit of the hireling contended in his breast with the spirit of the prophet.

This implication is still further confirmed by two subsequent passages. In his last pathetic appeal to the tribes of Israel, Joshua sought to rekindle their fidelity to Jehovah by recounting the mercies of the Lord and the wonders He had shewed them; and in recounting these wonders of mercy he reminds them of an interposition which some

of them could hardly have forgotten. He says (Joshua xxiv. 9, 10): "Then Balak, the son of Zippor, king of Moab, arose and warred against Israel, and sent and called Balaam, the son of Beor, to curse you: but *I would not hearken to Balaam; therefore* he blessed you still: so I delivered you out of his hand." And in Nehemiah xiii. 1, 2, we are told that on a certain day there was read to the Jews who had returned from the Captivity that passage from Deuteronomy cited in the last paragraph; "wherein was found that the Ammonite and the Moabite should not come into the congregation of God for ever, because they met not the children of Israel with bread and with water, *but hired Balaam against them that he should curse them: howbeit our God turned the curse into a blessing.*" When they had heard this sentence from "the Book of Moses," adds Nehemiah, they instantly separated themselves from the mixed multitude which had crept into the Congregation.

We may fairly say, therefore, that not only is Balaam branded as a hireling by these Supplementary Scriptures, and charged with having wished, and even tried, to curse the seed of Abraham; but that this conviction both of his cupidity and of his hostility to Israel was the standing and dominant conviction of the Jews concerning him for more than a thousand years.

(2) We found in the Chronicle some reason to fear that Balaam had respect to reward, that he hankered after a house full of silver and gold; that, if he loved righteousness, he also loved the wages of unrighteousness. And this fear has been confirmed by the passages just cited in which he is stigmatized as a hireling. But, unhappily, there are other Scriptures which, if we accept them as inspired, or even as bearing honest witness to historic facts, put this point, this gross and heavy fault, beyond the reach of doubt. In the so-called Second Epistle of St. Peter (Chap. ii.

15, 16), for example, certain "children of a curse" are spoken of as having forsaken the path of righteousness to go astray, "following the way of Balaam, the son of Beor, *who loved the hire of wrongdoing*, but was rebuked for his transgression: a dumb ass spoke with man's voice, and stayed the madness of the prophet." I am not unmindful of the questionable authority of this Epistle. For three centuries after it was written it was excluded from the Sacred Canon; and probably enough it may be cast out from the Canon ere long, at least by those who walk by the faith which demands evidence for things not seen rather than by that which is the substance of things hoped for. But no scholar will deny that it is a very ancient document, or that it follows an accepted Jewish tradition in the charge it alleges against the son of Beor. On the other hand, we must cheerfully admit that St. Peter, or the *falsarius* who writes in his name, accords the sacred title of "prophet" to Balaam even while he charges him with that love of money which is a root of all evil; and even goes so far as to call his wrong-doing a "madness," a craze discordant with his general character, of which he could hardly have been guilty had not his true nature been jangled and out of tune. Doubtful as may be the authority of this Scripture, therefore, we may say that it sums up, with some fairness, nearly all that we know of the man, neither concealing the good that was in him nor extenuating that which was evil.

Even the severest criticism, however, can find little of any weight to allege against the authenticity of the Epistle of St. Jude; and in this Epistle (verse 11) it is said of those who revile whatsoever things they know not, "*Woe unto them! for they went in the way of Cain, and ran riotously in the error of Balaam for hire.*" St. Jude, therefore, not only brings the old charge against Balaam and ascribes to him a mercenary spirit, a willingness to let out his art of divination on hire; he also anticipates our next point, and

implies in him a certain sensuality of spirit. For in this verse, "Lust stands hard by hate." Cain is here the emblem of fierce and cruel hate, say the critics; Balaam that of carnal indulgence: those who ran riotously in his error being men—and even in the Christian Church there have always been men, the Antinomians to wit, who have turned the grace of God into licentiousness—who made their piety a cloak for sensual depravity, and blackened the very name of Religion by the immoralities which they held it to justify or condone. The reference may be only to that vile expedient which Balaam counselled, and by which, as we are about to see, the men of Israel were lured into the flagrant orgies of Baalpeor; yet surely that was an expedient which it could never have occurred to any man of pure heart or pure life to advise.

(3) For the next allegation which Scripture brings against him is perhaps the worst of all. The very Chapter (xxv.) which follows the Chronicle in the Book of Numbers tells the sad and shameful story of how the fair women of Midian came down to the camp of Israel, and tempted the men of Israel to join in the licentious rites by which Baalpeor was worshipped; and how, for this sin, the anger of the Lord was kindled so that He sent a plague upon them, and "those that died of the plague were twenty and four thousand;" but it in no way connects the name of Balaam either with the sin or its punishment. Probably it was not known at the time that it was he who had dug this pit for their feet. But in a subsequent Chapter (Numbers xxxi. 16) the dismal secret is disclosed, and the whole guilt of this foul device is fastened upon him: for, in the war of vengeance against Midian, Moses commanded that even the women should be slain, "because they caused the children of Israel, *through the counsel of Balaam*, to commit impurity against the Lord in the matter of Peor, and there was a plague among the congregation of the Lord." To those

who bow to the authority of Scripture a charge so plainly made needs no confirmation; yet it is confirmed in the most explicit terms, and on an authority no less than that of our Lord Jesus Christ Himself; for in the epistle which he sent to the Church at Pergamos by his servant John (Revelation ii. 14), He sharply rebukes as many as "held the teaching of *Balaam, who taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed to idols and to commit fornication.*"¹

So that, despite his splendid fidelity to the words which God put into his mouth, and his utter refusal to curse the people whom God had blessed, he did curse them most effectually after all, by a deed which spoke louder than any words. "The expedient he pitched upon," says Bishop Butler, "was that concerning which Solomon afterwards observed that it had *cast down many wounded, yea, many strong men had been slain by it*, and of which he himself was a sad example when *his wives turned away his heart after other gods.*" And so moved is the good bishop, whose mind was as a rule singularly thoughtful and composed, by so foul and sordid a sin in a man otherwise so noble and great, that, after relating it, he breaks out into the exclamation, "Great God, what inconsistency, what perplexity is here!" And, indeed, the sin was so vile, and the tragedy which avenged it so terrible, that we find more than one echo of it even in the later prophets. Hosea, for instance (Chap. ix. 10), "dwells with special interest on the first love of Jehovah to his people when He found Israel like grapes in the wilderness, when He knew them in the thirsty desert, *before the innocence of the nation's childhood was stained with the guilt of Baalpeor,*" and "they separated themselves unto Shame" (a prophetic synonym for Peor), and became as "abominable" as the god they served: while Isaiah (Chap. ix. 4) caught and reproduced the thunders of the

¹ Comp. 1 Corinthians x. 8.

"day of Midian," on which God took vengeance on the sensual race by which that early innocence was debauched.¹

It is when we bring together such passages as these that we begin to comprehend the bitter and unsparing indignation with which the Bible, and especially the New Testament, glows against the Prophet of Pethor, speaking of him with a severity utterly unlike to the benign generosity of most of its verdicts on human character, even when the character of which it speaks is of no singular or remarkable excellence. His sins were as sordid, as base, as foul, as his virtues were eminent and his endowments rare; and they suffer by force of contrast. That a good man should be so bad, and a great man so mean, this is the wonder, this the shame. For great gifts entail grave responsibilities, and rare virtues should raise a man above vulgar temptations. The Bible is always, and justly, severe on those who pervert high gifts to base uses, and prostitute the very credit of Virtue in the service of vice. Balaam's great sin was that, knowing and loving the right, he nevertheless did wrong. He sinned, not simply against an external law and an external authority, but against the God within him: for while he had, and boasted that he had, the Spirit of God, and that in a measure in which few men of his time possessed it, he forgot that it was a Spirit of holiness and charity as well as a Spirit of wisdom and knowledge. He sinned against the Holy Ghost: and this sin against the Holy Ghost is the one unpardonable sin—unpardonable at least in this world, since it is incorrigible by any discipline which this world affords.

I do not deny that there may have been palliations of his guilt of which the Divine Mercy took note, or that that Mercy may long since have recovered him to a more steadfast and victorious pursuit of righteousness; "for to this

¹ Unless, indeed, with some commentators, we find in this "day of Midian" a reference to the story told in Judges vii.

end was the gospel (of that Mercy) preached even unto the dead,—that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit.”¹ And even we, who are apt to be as unmerciful in our judgment of our fellows as though we stood in no need of mercy for ourselves, know by observation, if not also by experience, that violent spiritual excitements react dangerously upon the soul, inducing a torpor of its higher faculties, and leaving it perilously open to temptations from the flesh: and therefore we can admit that, after the strain of overpowering inspiration, the trances and ecstasies in which Balaam saw his visions from the Almighty and delivered the oracles of the Most High, he may have yielded to temptations which he would have resisted in moods less morbid, less agitated and depressed; for it is one of the profoundest yet most patent mysteries of our nature that, when the Spirit of God departs from us, an evil spirit is only too likely to usurp his seat, and, alas! to find it ready swept and garnished for him. We confess, too, that the moment in which the main ambition of a life breaks down is a moment at which a man is prone to sink into despair; and that, in his despair, he may be so transported from himself as to be wholly unlike himself: and hence we can understand that if, as seems probable, Balaam had fondly cherished an ambition to abandon his recluse life, to mingle with men, and to become the honoured counsellor of a king or a clan, the sudden failure of this ambition may, for a time at least, have led him to hate the very virtues to which his failure was due, and to lift the yoke from passions which he had hitherto held in check. And we can also understand that his faith in the moral government of the world may have been perilously shaken when he foresaw, as in his last vision he did foresee, that even the people whom Jehovah had blessed, even the one race in which

¹ 1 Peter iv. 6.

he could descry no sin, the unique nation which lived for righteousness, was ultimately to be carried away captive, and to share the fate of empires founded on rapine and maintained by blood.

All this we can understand and allow for ; all this we are bound to make allowance for ; but, allow for it as we will, the unsophisticated conscience of every candid man must surely condemn Balaam as a sinner beyond others, and pronounce his guilt to be as rare and strange as his virtues and his gifts. Our one hope for him lies in the fact that he suffered for his sin in the flesh, that he received the punishment of it here and now, and was not permitted to add to his guilt by flaunting it in the face of the sun. Of all fates that can befall a transgressor the worst is the impunity which makes him bold in transgression. And from this fate Balaam was mercifully spared. For, in the war of vengeance against Midian, he was taken captive by the warriors of Israel, together with the kings or sheikhs of that clan, tried, and condemned to a judicial death (Numbers xxxi. 8, in the Hebrew, and Joshua xiii. 22). "Justice did not suffer him to live." He was taken in the trap he had set for others, and fell into the pit which he himself had digged,—making by his death, let us hope, such poor atonement as was still possible for his crime against God and man.

Sins so sordid, base, and foul as those which we have now seen brought home to him compose a terrible indictment against the Prophet in whom we have found so much to admire,—inspirations so lofty, gifts so rare, and a loyalty to the words which God put into his mouth so disinterested and steadfast. As we ponder the indictment and dwell upon its counts, we may be tempted to forget his redeeming virtues, the qualities which we have admired in him and approved. But the Bible will not suffer us to do him this

injustice ; for among these supplementary Scriptures there is one which not only confirms all the good impressions of him which we have derived from the Chronicle, but raises him even higher in our thoughts. It is the passage which we are now to consider. In Micah vi. 5-8, we read : " O my people, remember now what Balak king of Moab consulted, and what Balaam, the son of Beor, answered him, from Shittim to Gilgal,¹ that ye may discern the righteous acts of the Lord.

[Balak loquitur.] *Wherewith shall I come to meet the Lord, and bow myself before the God of the high place ? Shall I come to meet him with burnt-offerings, with yearling calves ? Will the Lord take pleasure in thousands of rams, in myriads of rivers of oil ? Shall I give up my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul ?*

[Balaam loquitur.] *He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good : and what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God ? "*

There seems no reason to doubt that in these verses we have a colloquy which actually took place between the king of Moab and the prophet of Pethor, although the Chronicle contains no report of it. But as it has been questioned by at least one English scholar of distinction (Cheyne *in loco*), who however, does not allege any argument in favour of his conclusion, it is necessary that we should glance at the reasons on which we rely in assuming that we are indebted to Micah for a scrap of ancient history which, but for him, we should have lost. In brief, these reasons are as follows :

(1) The weight of authority is on our side. The literary instincts and spiritual insight of such men as Bishop Butler, F. D. Maurice, Cardinal Newman, Robertson of Brighton, and Dean Stanley, especially when backed by the verdict

¹ Ewald conjectures with much probability that " from Shittim to Gilgal " is a marginal note which has crept into the text.

of critics so learned and accomplished as Ewald and Kalisch, are not to be lightly over-ridden; and all these take this passage as reporting a conversation between Balak and Balaam.

(2) It is admitted all round that the verse which introduces this passage (Verse 5) is patient of the construction we put upon it, and lends itself more easily and naturally to it than to any other. When we are told of what Balak *consulted*, and how Balaam *answered* him, we naturally expect to find in the verses that follow some account of the question and its reply: and in these following verses there is a personal tone (Note the "O man" of Verse 8), a conversational tone, which answers to that expectation.

(3) Such supplementary Scriptures as this are common in the Bible; we have already considered a good many of them by which our conception of Balaam's character has been deepened and enlarged. And there are many similar passages. For example, it is no more wonderful that Micah should make this addition to the Chronicle than that Hosea (Chap. xii. 3, 4) should tell us that Jacob "prevailed" over the angel with whom he strove at Peniel, because "he wept and made supplication unto him," although no mention is made of his tears and supplications in the Book of Genesis; or than that the author of the first Book of Chronicles (Chap. vii. 21, 22) should relate how certain men of Gath, while making a raid upon their cattle, came down upon the children of Ephraim in the land of Goshen, and slew them with the sword, nearly exterminating the whole tribe; and how Ephraim their father mourned for them many days, and his brethren came to comfort him, although no mention of this catastrophe is made in the Book of Exodus. It is no more wonderful than that St. Paul should report how the Lord Jesus used to say (Acts xx. 35): "It is more blessed to give than to receive," although that generous maxim is not recorded in any one of

our Gospels; or than that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (Chaps. v., vii.) should add so largely to our knowledge of Melchisedek, Prince of Salem, and, in Chapter xi., give many new and picturesque touches to some of the best known patriarchs and heroes of Israel.

(4) There are local touches and undesigned coincidences in this passage which fall in with our assumption and confirm it. What, for example, could be more natural than that Balak, who led the Prophet from one sacred grove on the hill-tops to another, and drenched the altars of so many high places with the blood of his sacrifices, should conceive of Jehovah as "the God of the *high place*," and anxiously inquire how He might be placated? In the Chronicle, again, Balaam speaks familiarly of leaving the sacred groves to meet Jehovah, and of Jehovah's *coming to meet* him (Chap. xxiii. 3, 4). So familiar is the phrase with him that he abbreviates it into a technical term, and once, at least (Chap. xxiii. 15) he speaks to Balak simply of going to *meet*, leaving him to infer that it was *the Lord* whom he expected to meet, and quite sure that he would know how to take the phrase. Micah preserves this singular expression, though in the Hebrew he uses a different verb, and makes Balak ask, "Wherewith shall I *come to meet* the Lord? Shall I *come to meet* him with burnt-offerings?" Nor must we omit to note that, in this passage, Balak, king of Moab, offers even to give up his *first-born* for his transgression, the fruit of his body for the sin of his soul. For the custom of making these dreadful human sacrifices in dreadful emergencies seems to have been a Moabitish custom, and to have held its ground many centuries after Balak had left the scene. In 2 Kings iii. 26, 27, we read of a king of Moab, whose name the recently discovered "Moabitish Stone" has made familiar to many of us,—we read how *Mesha*, king of Moab, sorely bestead by the armies of Judah and Israel, not only proposed to sacrifice his first-born to

the offended gods, but actually "took his eldest son, that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt-offering upon the wall."

And (5) the speeches here ascribed to Balak and Balaam are in character with the men. There is an imperious and yet a reckless and prodigal tone in the demand that Micah puts into the mouth of the King which is quite in harmony with all we know of him. He who sent messengers to Balaam saying, "Let nothing, I beseech thee, hinder thee from coming unto me, for . . . I will do whatsoever thou shalt say"; he who pursued Heaven with fierce and pertinacious importunity from altar to altar and hill to hill; he who, even after he had smitten his hands together in impotent anger, and had cried out on the Prophet, "Thou shalt never curse them again nor bless them again!" could yet command and beseech him to make one more attempt to wring a curse from the reluctant Power on high—may well have huddled one desperate offer and demand on the top of another as Micah makes him do. While Balaam, who loved and admired righteousness, who was true to the words he received from God at all risks and all costs, who was simply fascinated by the holiness of Israel and longed to share their lot, live their life, die their death, and who knew that it was to their comparative sinlessness they owed their strength and their peace, was surely not unlikely to have conceived such an ideal of righteousness as Micah here attributes to him.

For all these reasons, then,¹ reasons which, when combined, form an argument, I think, of irresistible cogency, we may take this passage as supplementing the story contained in the Chronicle, as preserving a colloquy between Balak

¹ For the opposite conclusion Mr. Cheyne alleges nothing but the assumption that those who see in this passage Balak's question and Balaam's reply, have "probably not realised the amount of personification which exists in the prophetic writings."

and Balaam which, but for Micah, would have remained unknown to us.

The exact point in the Chronicle in which we are to insert this colloquy is not easy to determine. Dean Stanley thought that Balak *saluted* Balaam with this question when he first met him on the border of Moab. And it may have been so. It may be that in his eagerness to receive supernatural help against his dreaded foe, the King, who had pledged himself to do whatever the Prophet should demand, may have offered to go all lengths in order to secure the interposition he craved. But there is a tone of desperation in his question which, to my mind, accords better with the assumption that it was at the *close* of his interview with the Prophet, rather than at its commencement, that the baffled monarch grew so excited and so profuse. In Micah's sketch of him he has the look and bearing of one who snatches at a last and fatal expedient, of one wellnigh driven to despair. Thrice already, and on three several heights, he had offered oxen and rams in the hope that he might propitiate the strange God whom Balaam served, and of whom he seemed to have conceived as Himself but a celestial Balaam, who might be lured to change his mind by bribes, if only the bribe were large enough and cunningly adapted to his special bent. And thrice his bribes, his sacrifices, had been rejected, and a blessing had been uttered instead of the hoped for curse. Was there nothing more that he could do? no other expedient that he could try? Would more and more abundant burnt-offerings avail? If not, would flocks of rams by the thousand and rivers of oil by the ten thousand? If not, would even the last and dearest and most dreadful sacrifice of all avail—shall I give *my firstborn* for my transgression, the fruit of my body, the hope of my dynasty, the flower of my stem, for the sin of my soul? The man was maddened with disappointment, with a vague and nameless fear, with cruel

anxiety and still more cruel suspense. The dread lest his power should be broken, his name blotted out, his fair cities ravaged, his tribe destroyed, drove him out of and beyond himself; and in his momentary exaltation no sacrifice seemed too costly by which the dark and awful doom which brooded over him might be averted.

And surely we may say that as the Lord had opened the mouth of a dumb ass to rebuke the madness of the Prophet, so now He opened the mouth of the Prophet to rebuke the madness of the King. It was not inevitable that Moab and Israel should come into conflict. Let the King be just and fear not. It was not bribes nor offerings that God required of him; but only that he should walk quietly and sincerely by conscience, by the inward light, and faithfully discharge the plain moral duties which all men recognize and approve.

Nothing can be finer than the Prophet's reply, whether in spirit or in form:—"*He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God!*" Nothing could more perfectly express that profound belief in Righteousness which, as we have seen again and again, was a characteristic of Balaam, or shew more impressively how pure, simple, and large his ideal of Righteousness was.

And yet, though this ideal is one which may be reached by any man who trusts and obeys the finer instincts of the soul and discerns the moral significance of the relations in which he stands, how wonderful it was that a heathen diviner of that distant time should have risen to an ideal so pure and lofty! A thousand years before the philosophers of Athens had begun to inquire after "the first fair" and "the first good," this unknown Prophet of an obscure race flashes into sight for a moment, and, lo, he has not asked the question only, but gained an answer to it which the accumulated experience and discoveries of

subsequent centuries has but confirmed! Such wisdom was not then to be found, no, not even in Israel itself, nor for centuries afterward. Now and then, indeed, in after years, a few of the noblest and most penetrating minds in Israel caught glimpses of the truth proclaimed by Balaam. Samuel, for instance, saw and said that "to obey was better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams." David affirmed that the sacrifices of God are not bullocks and goats, but a broken spirit and a contrite heart. And most of the later prophets maintained that to keep the commandments of God was better than to lavish hecatombs on his altar. But *the people* of Israel never accepted this Divine message; as, indeed, how should they when the very prophets who exalted obedience above offerings, and mercy above sacrifice, were nevertheless very zealous for the service of the altar and the temple? It was not till Christ came that ritualism was superseded by morality, and men really learned that pure and undefiled worship before God our Father is to minister to the afflicted and to keep themselves unspotted by the world. But since He came and dwelt among us the lesson has been learned, though it has been often forgotten; and the wisest of our own day, even though they permit themselves to speak of the Scriptures of life as "Hebrew old clothes," or "faded Jewish stars," still tell us, by life as well as by pen, that to do justice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God, is the whole duty and chief good of man.

In placing obedience above ordinances, then, character before worship, right-doing before ritualism, Balaam anticipated the teaching of Christ Himself; and even a Carlyle, though taught by Christ, was no wiser than he; and so prophet touches hand with prophet across an interval of four thousand years. The truth he taught is indeed one "which all the ages tell;" it is commended to us by philosopher as well as saint, by the most modern as well

as by the most ancient wisdom ; and yet it needs no commendation, since it at once commends itself to our best and purest instincts.

Obedience is better than worship, nay, *is* the true worship ; all ordinances of outward service were intended to cherish and express this inward obedience, and are valuable only as they help to confirm us in our obedience to the will of God ; God requires of us nothing more than the justice, the compassion, the humility which our own reason and conscience require of us, so that God's requisition on us is, after all, only our own requisition on ourselves,—in all these ways, and many more, we may state the truth anticipated by Balaam so many centuries ago.

No doubt it is a truth which cuts up all mere ritualism, sacramentarianism, sacerdotalism, by the root. Priests, sacraments, rites, are of use and fulfil their end only in so far as they teach and subserve a pure and noble morality. When once they are loved and venerated for their own sake ; when once they are held to be the vital substance or the main part of Religion ; and, much more, when they are made a substitute for Morality or are exalted above it, they become hateful to God and injurious to men. For what the Lord our God requires of us is not that we should reverence and obey a priest, take sacraments, observe rites ; but that we should act with justice, shew mercy, and walk humbly with Him. What He requires of us is not even that we should attend the services of the Church, or read our Bibles, or assent to creeds ; all these are simply of no use to us save as they help to cherish in us a lowly spirit and a merciful heart, and to make our life righteous and kindly and pure.

On the other hand, we must be on our guard against the error of those who, when once they grasp the truth that real Religion is of the inward life, and does not consist in the observance of outward rites and forms, feel as if they were

relieved from all the burden and strain of Religion, and address themselves to what they take to be an easier course with a light heart. To them, the words of Balaam come with all the force of an enfranchisement. Their feeling is, "We may fling off all these tedious and binding forms, then. We need observe no rite, attend no service, take no sacrament, join in no worship. We have nothing to do but to live a just, kindly, and reverent life!" Ah, but what a *But* is there! Have they at all considered what it is to which they so lightly address themselves?

That we should do justly is as reasonable as well as a Divine demand; for it is a demand which our own reason and conscience make upon us. But how much is involved in it? how hard, how all but impossible, is it for even the best of men to meet it? To do justly is to render to every man his due. It covers all our domestic, social, and political relations, and demands that in every one of these we should do the thing that is right. And we do not need a large experience to discover how difficult it is, in the complex and often conflicting claims to which we lie open, so much as to know what justice requires of us; and how much more difficult it is to *do* it in the teeth of our natural indolence, cupidity, and selfishness.

To love and shew mercy, again, is as reasonable as to do justice; for we ourselves constantly stand in need of the sympathy and compassion of our fellows, and are bound to shew to them the mercy that we need from them. But let any man set himself to keep this reasonable precept, and it will not be long before he discovers how hard it is to shew men a pity which shall not alienate or offend them; how hard it is to do an effective kindness even to our neighbour, and how doubly hard so to do it as not to injure either him or *his* neighbour. Nothing takes more wisdom than to exercise a charity which shall neither hurt nor degrade the man who receives it; and even if we do him no

harm, we may only too easily be doing harm to others by seeming to slight them, or by breeding in them a craving or a pauperized spirit. And all this while I am assuming that we are *willing* to deal gently and kindly with our fellows, to pity, forgive, and assist them. Yet there are but few of us who are willing to shew mercy and forgive when once our self-love has been wounded, or our angry and revengeful passions have been aroused. In fine, it is difficult to say which is the harder, to shew mercy and to forgive from the heart, or to forgive and help so wisely and graciously as to do good rather than harm.

Nothing, again, can be more reasonable than that we should walk humbly with God. Our life is itself a mystery, open to all the accidents of pain, misfortune, sorrow, disappointment, loss, bereavement; and it runs down into the still darker mystery of death. We pass swiftly from eternity to eternity, our immortal spirits hampered and confined in mortal frames, not knowing what may befall us from hour to hour of our brief pilgrimage, exposed to forces over which we have no control, our companions falling around us at every step, reminded at every turn of our ignorance, our weakness, our perishableness. Who should thankfully accept a Divine guidance if not we? Who should humbly acknowledge their need of a Divine support and consolation if not we, and their absolute dependence upon it? And yet how proud we are, how self-confident, how forgetful of our Divine Guide, Redeemer, Comforter! How apt to follow our own guidance or that of some leader as blind as ourselves, and to depend on our own strength or to lean on some reed as weak as ourselves, which breaks and pierces our hand so soon as we fairly commit ourselves to it!

Let no man, then, think lightly of this requisition, or lightly address himself to so great and perilous an enterprise. To do justly, to love mercy, to walk humbly with

God, is the hardest, as it is also the noblest, of achievements. How can it be other than most hard when it summons us to nothing less than to achieve the very ideal of human life, the loftiest moral ideal which the wit of man has been able to frame or the wisdom of God to reveal? He who would attain the true end and chief good of life *must* be prepared to endure hardness, and should be thankful for any and every help within his reach. He needs the Church; he needs the Bible; he needs the sacraments and the exercises of worship; he needs the teaching of those who have had a longer experience of time and change, of the world and men, than he himself, and of those who by special gifts or special studies are more fully acquainted with the Word and Will of God. If he is wise, so far from dispensing with any of these aids to a just, kindly, and humble spirit, he will thankfully accept and use them all.

But if the task to which we are called be hard—and who can doubt that to bend the stubborn and depraved will of man to the claims of Justice, Mercy, and Reverence, is far harder than to observe any ritual or present any sacrifice?—it is as blessed as it is hard. For, after all, nothing but justice lives and thrives in the long run, and nothing so wins upon our fellows as a kindly and sympathetic spirit; and how, amid all the shocks of change and blows of circumstance, can any man be at peace unless he humbly commit himself to the guidance of Omniscience and cast himself on the support of the Almighty? There is no rest but only here. It is as true to-day as it was four thousand years ago, that our real wealth is within us. All else changes and passes away. Fortunes built on injustice crumble into dust. Fame won by a selfish use of power turns to disrepute. Fortress and palace and tower are even less substantial than the baseless fabric of a vision, for *that* may leave some traces of itself on an immortal mind. The whole vast pageant of human life melts away moment by

moment. But the justice, the kindness, the reverence which we have cherished and made our own are beyond the reach of change, and will abide with us for ever ; and he to whom it has been given to do justly, to show mercy, to walk humbly with God, has all that even God Himself can enrich him with. For what is there really worth having that we can ask of God save that which He requires of us ? Though he have nothing else, yet he hath all who, living a just, gentle, and reverent life by the grace of God, has God Himself for his guide along the dark and perplexing ways of life, God for his support, God for his eternal home and reward.

These general considerations will serve, I hope, to bring out the meaning and force of Balaam's reply to the demand of Balak, to show how wide is its scope, how lofty and pure the ideal which it placed before the perturbed and desperate King. And if our study of it has deepened our admiration of his high prophetic gifts, his ethical penetration and grasp, we cannot but wonder the more that the man who could conceive a moral ideal so pure and lofty should himself so miserably fall short of it. For Balaam did not do justly in so far as he loved the wages of unrighteousness ; nor did *he* shew a gentle and generous spirit who, for the sake of hire, strove to curse the people he was bound to bless ; nor did he walk humbly with God who, despite the Divine inspiration and command, counselled the foul expedient by which the men of Israel were drawn to transgress the law they had received by Moses. And so the whole problem, in all its mystery, comes back upon us once more ; a problem which, since it is now fully stated, and we have all its terms before us, we must forthwith do our best to solve.

SAMUEL COX.

ST. JAMES ON TEMPTATION.

ST. JAMES i. 9, 10.

SECOND PART.

OUR first thought when we consider the persistency and infinite variety of the "temptations" and "trials" by which human life is infested, is to entreat God to give us strength to hold fast our Christian integrity. We may even think that what we want is nothing more than the stubborn endurance of a savage, who submits without a groan to mutilation and burning. James, with his keen practical sense, and as the result of his observation of the moral and religious life of the Church, insists on the necessity of asking God for "wisdom." It is not merely strength that we need, but a divinely illuminated intelligence.

The relations between Christian "wisdom" and righteousness are very intimate. Light and Life go together. It is not enough that we have an intense desire to do the will of God; or that we firmly resolve to do it; or that we try to do it. It is possible to mean well, and to do very badly; to put forth vigorous and painful and persevering effort to keep God's commandments, and yet to fail most miserably. If we are to meet and to overcome the "temptations" which assault our loyalty to God, to derive any profit from the "trials" which explore our weakness, and to find in defeat the secret of victory, we must have wisdom; if we lack wisdom we shall be certain to "be lacking" in many of the elements of Christian perfection.

The "wisdom" of which James is thinking is not an ability to discover the Divine reasons for permitting us to be environed by the special moral and religious difficulties by which our fidelity to Christ is tried; but the spiritual intelligence which gives us right practical guidance in the presence of these difficulties. It is not at all necessary for

us to understand the principles and aims which determine the Divine action; but it is very necessary that we should understand the principles and aims that should determine our own. Why God permitted us to invest the greater part of our fortune in a bank that happened to be in the hands of dishonest directors, so that we lost all we had entrusted to them; why He permitted us to be caught in a storm which brought on severe illness and left us in broken health for the rest of our life; why He has permitted us to achieve sudden and unexpected prosperity, although Christ has told us that it is hard for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven—are speculative inquiries with which it may be no part of our duty to worry ourselves. What we are bound to ask is, How are we to remain faithful to Him in our poverty, our sickness, our dangerous wealth?

The "wisdom" we need is that by which we shall have a clear apprehension of the principles and spirit of Christian righteousness, and which will enable us to discover how, in our own circumstances, with our own temperament, and our own resources, the ideal of Christian perfection is to be realized. It will give us a just sense of the proportion of things, and enable us to estimate at their true value the pleasant and the painful elements of human life—health and sickness, riches and poverty, social distinction, the energy for action, intellectual vigour, friendships, reputation, official position in the world or in the Church. It will enable us to form an accurate judgment of our own character, not merely in its large outlines, but in its details of strength and weakness. It will enable us to perceive how we have failed in past times, and how we are likely to fail in future. It will suggest the sources of moral vigour, and the true regimen of our own moral life.

This wisdom we are to "ask of God." We need Divine illumination to reveal "earthly things" as well as "heavenly things," to discover the secrets of our own life

as well as the secrets of the life of God, the Divine laws which should govern our present conduct as well as the hope of our high spiritual calling, and "the riches of the glory of [God's] inheritance in the saints."

Not that prayer alone is sufficient. The "wisdom that cometh down from above" does not descend upon us, like the sunlight, without any effort of our own; it does not come to us in supernatural voices or visions. The "Truth" is given us in the person and ministry of our Lord Jesus Christ—in Himself as well as in his words, in the agony of Gethsemane and the passion on the Cross as well as in the Sermon on the Mount; and this "Truth" is given for the guidance of life. *Christ* is our "wisdom," as well as our righteousness and sanctification and redemption. Inspiration enables us to perceive the true meaning of what God has revealed; and when inspiration comes to us we must use it in the attempt to master the "wisdom" that is in Christ. It does not render unnecessary—it renders possible—the cultivation of Christian intelligence. God gives "wisdom" as He gives the harvest, but we have to work for it.

He gives "liberally," or, rather, "simply." His giving is not the cover of any unavowed purposes; it conceals no secret policy; it is frank, open, genuine. He gives for the sake of giving, and because He delights in it. And He "upbraideth" not; meets us with no reproaches that we have so little wisdom of our own, or that we are so undeserving of receiving wisdom from Himself. The words which follow:—"Let him ask in faith, nothing doubting; for he that doubteth is like the surge of the sea, driven by the wind and tossed. For let not that man think that he shall receive anything of the Lord. A man of two minds, he is unstable in all his ways"—need not detain us. They are a vivid statement of a truth which recurs in many other parts of the New Testament, and have no special connection with

the subject of "temptations" and "trials," unless indeed we say that "temptations" and "trials" of all kinds make it hard to pray in faith.

And now we have reached the words which, as I said in the first of these two papers, have greatly perplexed the commentators: "*Let the brother of low degree glory in his high estate; and the rich in that he is made low.*"

The interpretation given by Mr. Punchard, in Dr. Elliott's "Commentary on the New Testament for English Readers," is extremely attractive. He reads the passage, and explains it thus: "*Let the brother of low degree rejoice in that he is exalted* (or, better, *in his exaltation*). There is no praise from the plain St. James for the pride which apes humility, nor the affectation which loves to be despised. If it please God to 'exalt,' as of old, 'the humble and meek,' then anew should be sung a *magnificat* to Him. Willingness for Christ's service, whether it be great or little, is the right condition of mind for all disciples, and specially the young, with readiness, nay gladness for 'duty in that state of life unto which it *shall* please God to call them.' Pleasure will be naturally felt by most at the prospect of a rise in the world; but there are some finer spirits who would fain shrink from anything like exaltation; and to these the kindly Apostle writes that they may take heart, and not fear the greater dangers which of necessity accompany a higher call."

"*But the rich in that he is made low* (or, rather, *in his humiliation*). And, on the other hand, let a change of state be a cause of joy to the rich man, hard though the effort thereto must confessedly be."

This interpretation of the words is, I say, exceedingly attractive. It runs on the lines of all that has been said about "temptations" and "trials" in the earlier part of the Chapter. The vicissitudes of human life reveal our weaknesses and defects; they bring out and provoke into ener-

getic activity all the elements of our strength ; and so they discipline us to perfection. Virtues are exercised by wealth, by honour, by ease, which are latent in poverty and in obscurity. The poor man, therefore, ought not to be afraid of becoming rich. The change in his external circumstances will give him the advantage of a new kind of moral and religious training. His dangers may be increased. He will be surprised by the discovery of infirmities which had never been revealed to him before. But it is only by "manifold" trials—"trials" which test us at every point—that we can learn how great our need is of "the wisdom which cometh from above," and of the strength which God gives to those who trust Him perfectly. And it is only by "manifold" trials that we can be disciplined to a rich and varied righteousness. "The brother of low degree" should, therefore, "rejoice" when he is raised to wealth, to a higher social rank, to positions of public trust and honour. New "temptations" come to him ; but, with the new "temptations," new possibilities of loyalty to God and of Christian perfection.

This interpretation, I say, is exceedingly attractive. It is the direct application of the general principles which have been laid down earlier in the Chapter. But there is one fatal objection to it ; the words will not bear it.

In the Authorized Version the verse reads as this interpretation requires us to read it : "*Let the brother of low degree rejoice in that he is exalted ;*" and this might mean that he is to rejoice when he ceases to be of "low degree," and passes from poverty to wealth, from obscurity to a place of distinction and honour. But the Revisers have made a necessary change in the translation—two necessary changes. Instead of, "*Let the brother of low degree rejoice in that he is exalted,*" they read, "*Let the brother of low degree glory in his high estate.*" What James is thinking of is not the change from poverty to

riches, in which a Christian man might be asked to "*rejoice*," because it would contribute to the more complete discipline of his Christian fidelity; but of the greatness, the honour, the "high estate," which belong to the "brother of low degree," notwithstanding his poverty, and in which he is to "*glory*."¹ No matter how poor he may be, he is "rich towards God;" no matter how mean may be his outward circumstances, he is already in the kingdom of heaven; no matter how obscure he may be, he is among the "children of God," and what he will be is not made manifest; he is to "*glory*" in his "*high estate*." He is not to be perpetually moaning over the contrast between the hardships of his own condition and the ease and comfort of his more prosperous brethren; he is not to be perpetually asking for pity and compassion; he is not to cherish a secret feeling of resentment against the Divine Providence which denies him many bright and pleasant things; he is not to become mean and servile in his spirit because of the meanness of his external condition. He is to live up to his true greatness; he is to have the magnanimity of a prince, even though he is in the position of a slave; he is to "*glory in his high estate*."

The second part of the verse has perplexed the commentators even more than the first. It is contended that by the "rich," James could not have meant a rich "brother." Elsewhere in the Epistle he speaks of the "rich" with indignant hostility: "Do not the rich oppress you, and themselves drag you before the judgment-seats? Do not they blaspheme the honourable name by the which

¹ Paul "glories" in "tribulation" (Rom. v. 3), "knowing that tribulation worketh patience, etc."; but there is a certain high defiant temper in his use of the word in connection with the discipline of calamity. The word would, I venture to think, be incongruous in connection with the discipline of wealth and ease. The "*rejoice*" in verse 9 of the Authorized Version naturally recalled the "count it all joy," of verse 2. The change to "*glory*," which, indeed, was inevitable, assists in destroying the attractive interpretation which I am sorry that I cannot accept.

ye are called?" (ii. 6, 7). "Go to now, ye rich, weep and howl for your miseries that are coming upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and your silver are rusted; and their rust shall be for a testimony against you, and shall eat your flesh like fire" (v. 1-3). Had the phrase been invented, James would have been charged with "setting class against class." There is a certain fierceness in his way of speaking of the "rich" which startles us in these days, when, if we were to listen to some people, we should believe that the great end of the Christian revelation is to train men to the virtues which enable them to create and accumulate material wealth.

How, then, are we to interpret these words on the assumption that James was not thinking of a Christian man at all, but of one of those "rich men," whom he denounces so vehemently in the latter part of the Epistle?

It has been suggested that they are ironical, and that James meant, "Let the brother of low degree glory in his high estate; and, as for the rich, let him glory in the ruin, the decay, the destruction, which is coming upon him and his wealth; he has nothing else to glory in; as the flower of the grass he shall pass away."

But there is something positively savage in the irony of this interpretation; and it has been proposed to change the *καυχάσθω* of the first clause into *καυχᾶται* in the second, and read: "Let the brother of low degree glory in his high estate; whereas the rich man glories in what is really his debasement and misery; for his wealth is not real wealth, nor will it endure; as the flower of the grass he shall pass away."

But if the first interpretation was too savage, this is too artificial. And, further, it is hard to believe that *ἀδελφός* does not belong to both clauses. The "rich," as a class, were hostile to Christ and to the Church; but there were

some of them who had received the Gospel, and who not only came occasionally into the Christian assemblies with "a gold ring, in fine clothing," but were frankly and heartily on the side of the new Faith.

And so while James tells the "brother of low degree" to "glory in his high estate," he tells the rich brother to "glory" in whatever humbles him, corrects the pride which is encouraged by wealth, makes him conscious of the frailty of all earthly possessions, lowers his high temper, and brings him in spirit into nearer fellowship with the poorest of his brethren. He is to "glory" in this; for by this discipline the truth of things is brought home to him. He is walking in a vain show while he has confidence in his riches, and while they separate him from his brethren who are in poverty.

But it is objected that the difficulties in the way of this interpretation are insuperable; that if the rich man is a Christian brother, it is not true that "as the flower of the grass he shall fade away."

But why not? We say of the poor—whether they are Christian men or not—that in times of public trouble and disaster they are the first to perish. They are swept away by famine and by plague. And the rich, whether they are Christian men or not, will also be overtaken by the universal doom. For them, too, human life is as frail as the grass; "the sun ariseth with the scorching wind and withereth the grass; and the flower thereof falleth and the grace of the fashion of it perisheth; so also shall the rich man fade away in his goings." Riches may enable and incline a man to forget that he shares the common destiny of the race; but wealth is uncertain, strength decays. The dark shadow of death moves on, and the same night falls upon prince and beggar, upon the greatest and the obscurest of mankind.

Let the rich "glory," therefore, in whatever lessens their

pride, and reveals to them the uncertainty of all earthly things. Let them "glory" in whatever makes more vivid to them the unreality of the pomp and greatness of this transitory world, and verifies their citizenship in that Divine kingdom which will never pass away.

For all of us life would be greatly changed if we frankly accepted this conception of its sorrows and its joys. They are all alike and in the same sense "temptations" and "trials." We are here for the discipline of Christian righteousness. For this end we are rich or poor, strong or sick, lonely or surrounded by troops of friends. It is well with us, whatever our external fortunes may be, as long as we are being disciplined to perfection. Sorrow is good: it reveals some hidden infirmity, and brings into action some latent force. Joy is good; for it fulfils the same purpose. Wealth is good, and poverty is good: for it may be necessary that we should pass through both in order that we may be "lacking in nothing." Never was this Christian Stoicism, this free and manly temper in the presence of the vicissitudes of life, more necessary than in these times. Even in the Church we have come to think that a man's life consisteth in the abundance of the things that he possesseth. We shall never fulfil the ethical ideal of the new Faith until we heartily believe that the true end of life is to be disciplined to a Divine perfection.

R. W. DALE.

THE ANCHOR OF HOPE.

ROMANS viii. 24 ; HEBREWS vi. 19.

It is a mere commonplace to remark how wonderfully Christianity has succeeded in changing the ideals and the ideas of men ; and how this is shewn in the mental associations habitually connected with particular words. Though the lessons taught by Christ have not been, and in the present Dispensation never will be, learned perfectly, yet they have been learned to an extent which to the ancient world would have seemed impossible. That pride should be recognized as a sin, humility as a virtue, and forgiveness as a duty, by any large and influential portion of mankind, with at least sufficient sincerity and earnestness to affect current ideas and current language, is, though infinitely short of sufficient or satisfying, yet a wonderful degree of success. I use the word wonderful, not as a mere careless synonym of very great, but in its proper meaning of something which may reasonably excite wonder.

As regards the traces of Christian ideas in the mere habitual use of words, the most striking instance, of course, is that reversal of associations, by which the cross, from being a symbol of punishment and shame, has become a symbol of victory, salvation, and glory. This is familiar to us all. But there is another, almost equally remarkable, which has passed unnoticed into common language, and has become a commonplace without one in a thousand remembering, or reflecting, that it was once a paradox. I mean *The Anchor of Hope*.

But is not an anchor the recognized emblem of Hope ? Yes ; but it is scarcely possible to doubt that it has been made so by the latter of the two passages before us. An anchor is not by any means an obvious or self-explaining emblem of Hope ; and it could have become so only under the influence of Christian thought. An anchor is, naturally

and primarily, the emblem of steadfastness ; and in any but Christian thought steadfastness and hope have very little to do with each other. Not the steadfastness of hope, but its uncertainty and deceitfulness, are commonplaces of all non-Christian and merely worldly thought ; all the proverbs and the poetry in which such thought has expressed itself are full of this idea. The red and golden colours of the morning clouds which vanish after the sun rises, the dew which disappears when the day grows hot, flowers which blossom but to fade, Spring which gives place to Summer, and Summer to Autumn, life which ends in death ;—these, symbols not of fixity but of evanescence, are the emblems of Hope which seem natural from a merely earthly point of view. If any appropriate emblem of Hope from such a point of view is to be sought among things belonging to a ship, it is not the anchor but the sail. Hope, according to a merely secular philosophy, is not a means of fixity, but a useful, perhaps a necessary, motive power ; and its natural function is not impaired by its deceitfulness. Its function is that of a stimulus to exertion ; and this function is all the better discharged by its promising more than it is able to perform. Hope is the flower of early life, which no doubt fades, but does its work in preparing for the fruit.

“ If Nature put not forth her power
About the opening of the flower,
What is it that could live an hour ? ”¹

And this view of Hope is quite true so far as it goes. But were this all, to call Hope an Anchor would be simply nonsense—words used without a meaning ; and so it would have appeared to the ancient world.

According to a merely secular philosophy, whether the philosophy which alone was possible in ancient Greece, or

¹ Tennyson, *The Two Voices*.

the Positivist and Agnostic systems of modern Europe, Hope is thus needful and yet necessarily fallacious. Is this a possible conclusion? Can this be the end of the whole matter? The question is nearly the same with, Is it true that all is vanity? St. Paul says that it is true of the present world; but that the present world has been created, and exists, for the purpose of preparing for, and ultimately giving place to, another, which shall not be subject to vanity and corruption (Rom. viii. 20, 21). And he says a little farther on, in the same passage, "For by hope were we saved" (viii. 24).

Now, what kind of hope is it that saves? In the first place, it must be fixed on a worthy object. There can be no saving power in a hope which is set on unworthy things.

In the second place, it must be at least in some degree an assured and stedfast hope. I do not say absolutely assured. No earthly hope can be absolutely certain. Yet many an earthly hope—such as the hope of success in war, or in love, or in professional advancement, has had enough of saving power to keep a man in the path of duty or of honourable ambition. But in order to do so, the hope, though it can never amount to assured certainty, must have some degree of strength. A very weak and faint hope can have no saving power, or power of any kind. The hope which can save must be strong enough to be of the nature of faith, and indeed must be almost synonymous with faith.

Thus the hope of the Christian has a saving power; and it has this power by reason of its being fixed on the highest objects, and fixed on them stedfastly. These truths, in their combination, are expressed in the two passages before us:—"We are saved by hope." "Which hope we have as an anchor of the soul, both sure and stedfast, and which entereth into that which is within the veil."

It is not in general safe thus to piece together two passages of Scripture, and to read on from the one to the

other, especially when they are from different books, and in all probability by different authors. But in the present case there appears to be no room for any error as to the meaning. Both in the passage from Romans and in that from Hebrews, the hope spoken of is a strong and confident hope, amounting to faith, and fixed on the invisible and eternal things "within the veil." "Saved by hope" (Rom. viii. 24), and "justified by faith" (Rom. v. 1), are in fact two not very different expressions for the same thought.

"A hope which entereth into that which is within the veil"—that is to say, a hope entering into, and anchored in, the invisible world—is another of the paradoxes of Christianity. In Christianity the invisible world is regarded as the only region of certainty. In the light of mere nature, and of all philosophy founded upon it, the reverse of this appears true. Certainty seems to belong to the visible and tangible world, the world of matter; the invisible and spiritual world is regarded as a region respecting which certainty is unattainable, and nothing possible but mere guesses.

Thus the same Gospel of Christ which has consecrated suffering,—

"And turned the thistles of the curse
To types beneficent,"¹

and made the cross the emblem of salvation instead of condemnation, has also given fixity to hope, and established as the emblem of hope, not evanescent things like flowers or dewdrops, but an anchor. And it has done this because it has at the same time shewn that the region of certainty and stedfastness is not where men naturally look for it, in the visible world, but in the invisible and spiritual.

In the following verse the Sacred Writer tells us how

¹ Wordsworth, *The Primrose of the Rock*.

this has been attained. "Whither" (within the veil) "the forerunner is for us entered, even Jesus, made a high priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek." Until the resurrection and ascension of Christ, our own resurrection and immortality was generally felt to be little more than a pious aspiration. Eminent saints like Job, when he exclaimed "I know that my redeemer liveth, and in my flesh I shall see God;" or the author of Psalm xvii. when he declared, "I will behold thy face in righteousness; I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness;" such men caught a glimpse, and a very vivid glimpse, of the resurrection and of immortality. Yet under the older Dispensation this thought does not seem to have ever dominated the entire mind and life, as it aims to do, and has often succeeded in doing, in characters formed by Christianity. But now that the divine Son of Man is gone up where He was before, now that Humanity is enthroned on the right hand of the Majesty on high, we are taught to regard Christ's resurrection, as not only the proof that He was the Son of God, but the promise and pledge of our own resurrection and immortality. We know that Christ has entered into that which is within the veil, into the Holy of Holies, into heaven itself, not only in his solitary Divine glory, but in his human nature as our forerunner. And it is the knowledge that Christ is thus gone before us into the eternal world, in order there to prepare a place for us, which makes it possible for us to cast our anchor of sure and stedfast hope, deeper than any waves or currents of change and chance, in the immoveable and eternal world.

"The veil" is of course a Hebrew metaphor for the boundary between the visible and the invisible world, between earth and heaven. The veil of the Temple separated the Holy Place, which, in the symbolic system expounded in the Epistle to the Hebrews, represented the

Church on earth, from the Holy of Holies, which represented Heaven itself.

But in another part of the Epistle (Chap. x. 20), the Writer gives a very remarkable and unexpected turn to the symbolism, by saying that the veil represents Christ's flesh. "Having therefore boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus, by a new and living way which he hath consecrated for us, through the veil, that is to say his flesh." Perhaps there is an allusion to the Lord's saying, "I am the way" (John xiv. 6). But what we have to remark is the change, we may almost say reversal, of meaning, here given to the interpretation of "the veil." The veil of the Temple was a partition wall between the parts of the Temple that symbolized respectively the Church on earth and that in heaven; and a partition wall separates the chambers which it divides. But Christ's flesh—that is to say, his human life and death;—though it stands at the boundary between the earthly and the heavenly worlds, because it belongs to both, and is in this sense the antitype of the veil of the Temple:—yet, in another sense, it is most unlike the veil, because it is not a wall of partition, to separate and divide, but, as we here read, a way of access. Through Christ we have access in the Spirit unto the Father (Ephesians ii. 18). It has been said, fancifully perhaps, that this was symbolized by the rending of the veil of the Temple at the earthquake which occurred when Christ expired on the cross.

And if Christ's human nature is the veil through which we have access to God, Christ's entire Being—Christ Himself—is the hope which we have as an anchor. It is obvious that the hope whereof the certainty and steadfastness are symbolized by an anchor cannot be the mere feeling of hope which is formed in our hearts, on however strong and sufficient grounds. No feeling, nothing within the soul, can be an anchor of the soul, or can enter into

that which is within the veil. The soul may be tossed about on the waves of its own feelings, its own fears and hopes, but it cannot be anchored upon them; the anchor of our hopes must be One stronger than ourselves, even Christ, whose stedfastness is elsewhere said to be that of a Rock, and is here called that of an Anchor. "We have fled for refuge to lay hold of the hope set before us, which hope we have as an anchor of the soul." It is evident that what we fly to for refuge, and lay hold of, must be something external to ourselves;—it would be unmeaning to say that we have fled for refuge to the feeling of hope in our own souls, however well grounded it may be. Nor can our own feelings enter within the veil. None but Christ has as yet entered there, and He has entered there as our Forerunner, that where He is, there we may be also (John xiv. 3). St. Paul calls Christ our hope (1 Timothy i. 1); and even if it is not expressly taught by the mere words of the passage now under consideration, it is implied by the entire teaching of the New Testament, that Christ Himself in his risen and ascended life, is our anchor of hope.

Christ has entered into heaven for us as "a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek." Not as one of a succession like the sons of Levi, but standing alone and deriving his authority, like Melchizedek, directly from his Father, "Once at the end of the ages hath he been manifested to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. And inasmuch as it is appointed unto men once to die, and after this cometh judgment; so Christ also, having been once offered to bear the sins of many, shall appear a second time, apart from sin, to them that wait for him, unto salvation" (Hebrews ix. 26, 28). Had Christ no priestly office, and had He made no atonement for our sins, we do not see that his resurrection and ascension would have done anything for us. But now, "He that spared not his

own son, but delivered him up for us all, shall he not also, with him, freely give us all things?" (Romans viii. 32).

In St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, Christ is called our hope of glory. The thought is the same as that in the Epistle to the Hebrews, but with a difference; for the words are "Christ *in you*, the hope of glory" (Colossians i. 27). In the passage in Hebrews, the thought is that of ultimate glory and bliss prepared by Christ for us, and of Christ who at his ascension went to prepare it. In the passage in Colossians, the thought is of Christ who dwells in us by his Spirit, and is preparing us for ultimate glory. The passage in Hebrews speaks of "Christ's work *for us*;"—the passage in Colossians speaks of "Christ's work *in us*." Both alike are the work of Christ, and each presupposes the other;—He has died and risen again and ascended on high to prepare the heavenly glory for us, and by his Spirit He dwells with us who are still on earth, that He may prepare us for the heavenly glory.

JOSEPH JOHN MURPHY.

CANON SCARTH'S THEORY OF THE EXODUS.

THE spade of the antiquarian, no less than that of the military engineer, is a formidable weapon. M. Naville's recent discovery of the site of Pithom has overthrown the hypothesis of Lepsius and Ebers, recently fortified by elaborate arguments contributed to *Knowledge* by Miss Amelia Edwards. This lady, one of the most distinguished of English Egyptologists, now acknowledges, with praiseworthy candour, that Tell el Maschuta is *not* Ra'mses, but Pithom. But Pithom has likewise been identified with Succoth. On this point both M. Naville and Mr. R. S. Poole are agreed. The words of the latter, in his communication to the *Academy* (Feb. 24th, 1883) may be

quoted: "On referring to Dr. Brugsch's *Dictionnaire Géographique*, it will be seen that Pithom was the sacred name, I would rather say temple-name, of 'Thuku at the entrance of the East.' This special designation well describes the position in the Wady et Tumulât. The historical importance of Pithom is not limited to its identification with the strong city of Exodus i. 11. As Succoth it fixes the site of the first encampment on the route of the Exodus." But M. Naville in his latest communication, cited by the above writer (April 7th), contributes another fact which may turn out to be a most important clue: "One thing," says M. Naville, "interested me particularly in the inscription [a tablet of black stone recording the foundation of the city of Arsinoë at some distance from Pithom by Ptolemy Philadelphus]. It is the name of a locality of which Osiris is the god, and which is called Pi-Keheret."

This the French explorer thinks may turn out to be Pi-hahîroth of Exodus xiv. 2. If so, the entire Schleiden-Brugsch theory of the Exodus vanishes like a dream, and Canon Scarth's modification of this theory vanishes with it.

Some suspicion of this has, we imagine, occurred to many intelligent readers who have seen in the daily newspaper the report of the discovery of the site of Pithom, and probably of Succoth also, and have taken the trouble to compare the geographical data with those of the route proposed in Canon Scarth's article of last October in the *Journal of the Palestine Exploration Fund*.

But it is not on this aspect of the question that I wish at present to lay stress. In the course of a few weeks we may, in the light of M. Naville's discoveries, be compelled to pronounce many other hypotheses besides those of Schleiden, Brugsch-Bey, Canon Scarth, and Miss Weld to be altogether untenable. The results of this Paper must necessarily be critical and negative. We live in wholesome dread of M. Naville's pickaxe!

I. In discussing the use of the term יָם־סוּף (not יָם־סוּף as Canon Scarth punctuates it), both Miss Weld and Canon Scarth attempt to explain away or ignore several very important passages where this geographical term is used.

(a) Numbers xxxiii. 10, where, in a list of desert-marches, compiled by the law-giver himself, a camping-ground is mentioned which is not included in the narrative of Exodus xv. xvi.: "And they marched from Elim, and *encamped on the shore of the יָם־סוּף*." While admitting that the identification of this spot has not been definitely fixed,¹ we cannot entertain any rational doubt that *Yam-Sûph* here designates the Red Sea.

(b) Numbers xxi. 4: "And they marched from Mount Hor by way of *Yam-Sûph*, compassing (or making a circuit round) the land of Edom." Compare also Deuteronomy ii. 1, where it is stated that, after leaving Kadesh, Israel marched "to the wilderness by way of the Red Sea," and then made a long circuit round Mount Seir. Compare likewise Judges xi. 16.

(c) Lastly in 1 Kings ix. 26, it is stated that "King Solomon built vessels at Ezion-geber, which is by Eloth, on the shore of the *Yam Sûph*, in the land of Edom."

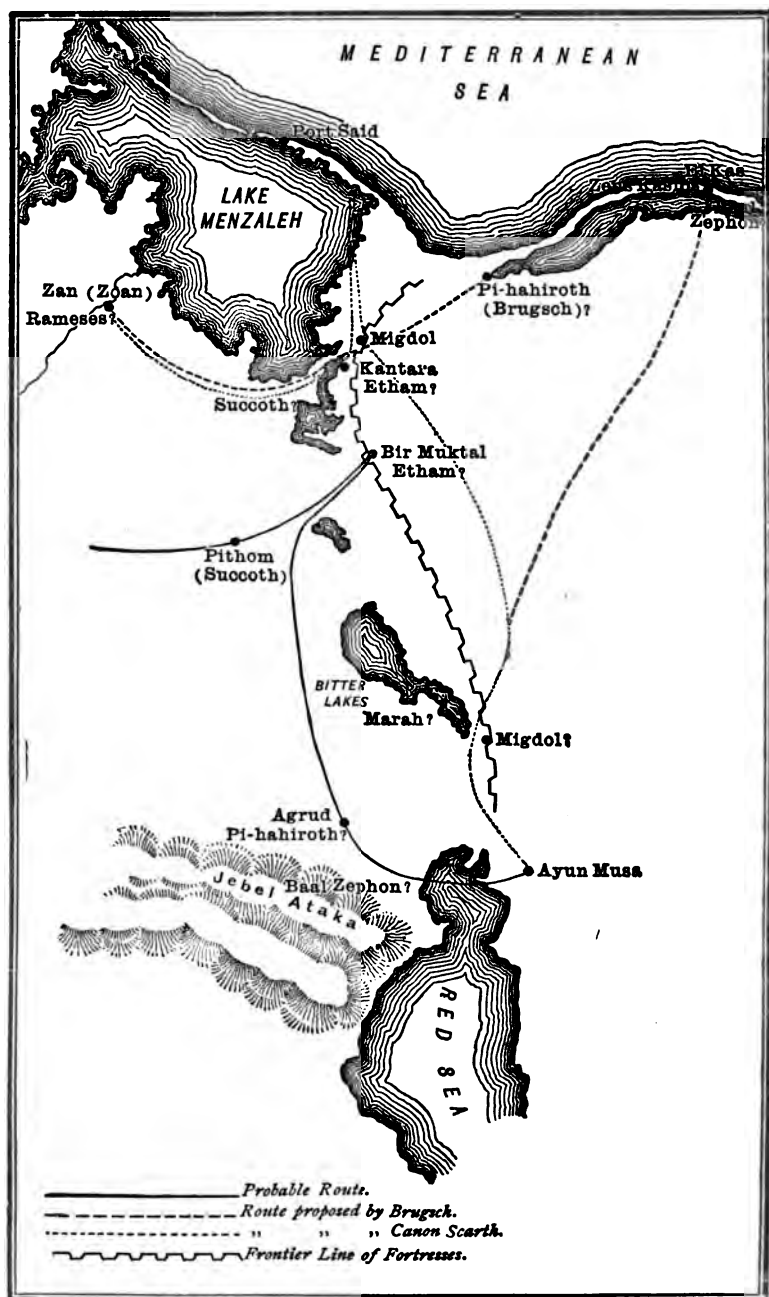
The passages cited or referred to under (b) and (c) so manifestly designate the Elanitic gulf in the Red Sea, while the first passage (a) with equal clearness points to the Gulf of Suez under the term *Yam Sûph*, that no doubt can remain in the mind of the reader that this term must have been employed by the ancient Hebrews for the Red Sea. This Canon Scarth admits. But he holds that the name might have been used to designate Lake Menzaleh as a "Sea of Reeds." In other words, the same name, so dis-

¹ Elim is generally identified with Wady Gharandel (Dillmann on Exodus xv.; Ebers' *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 127); and this camping-ground by the Red Sea is placed in the neighbourhood of Ras Abu Zenime. (Bädeker, *Unter-Egypten*, p. 512).

tinctive in its form, might equally be applied to both. This, however, is *primâ facie* extremely improbable. The Mediterranean, north of Egypt, is called in Exodus xxiii. 31 "Sea of the Philistines;" and a stronger argument must be constructed for Canon Scarth's, as well as for Schleiden-Brugsch's, theory before so indiscriminate a use of geographical terms can be regarded as possible in the case we are considering.

II. It has already been indicated that Canon Scarth's theory is a modification of that which has been put forward by Schleiden and later by Brugsch. Both may be compared by reference to the accompanying map. I shall condense my remarks on this head by referring the reader to the able review and criticism of Brugsch's views in the second edition of Ebers' *Durch Gosen zum Sinai* (pp. 107 foll.); and particularly to the discussion of Brugsch's ingenious inferences from the Anastasi Papyrus contained in the British Museum.

It is to the geographical elements of the problem that I now wish to direct attention. I do not possess the advantage of being an *ἀνὴρ πολύπραγτος*, as Canon Scarth is, yet have the gravest reasons for doubting whether his superior topographical knowledge has led him on the right track in the present instance. The discovery of the site of Pithom in the Wady Tumulât affords a presumption that the site of Rameses is to be sought in the same region, further to the West or Tell el Kebir end. The site of Succoth we may for the present leave undiscussed. *Etham* is certainly obscure. Canon Scarth follows Brugsch in identifying it with the Egyptian *Khetam*, in which Ebers agrees with him. The latter, however, places this spot further south, at the modern Bir Muktal. This position fairly satisfies the conditions of the problem, if we assume the Wady Tumulât as the *terminus a quo* of the Israelite march. Both in Exodus xiii. 20, and in Numbers xxxiii. 6, *Etham* is



described as lying "on the boundary of the wilderness." This wilderness is designated in Numbers xxxiii. 8, as "the wilderness of Etham." But in the corresponding passage (Exodus xv. 22), it is called "the wilderness of Shûr." Therefore it is not an improbable, though not a necessary, conclusion that Etham=Shûr. But the word Shûr, both in Hebrew and Aramaic, means an "enclosure-wall." Accordingly we are led to the belief that Etham represents the corresponding Egyptian term *Khetam*, i.e. the line of frontier-fortresses which ran from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea, as a defence against the *Amu* or Semites. The Semites called it *Shûr*, and the Egyptians called it *Khetam* (see "Ancient History from the Monuments"—*Egypt*, p. 126).

From this line of forts, Israel was commanded by God "to return" (Exodus xiv. 2). Notice the phrase. The Hebrew *shûb* can mean this and nothing else. The Israelites accordingly came back—possibly they were driven back—and encamped at Pi-hahiroth. Let the reader turn to the sketch-map, and he will at once see how imperfectly Canon Scarth's positions (and still more those of Brugsch) answer to such a description.

The position of Pi-hahiroth must for the present remain a matter for speculation. Baal Zephon is equally obscure. Ebers identifies it with the commanding heights of the Jebel 'Ataka, where, as he supposes, the Phœnicians sacrificed to their national deity, to secure a favourable breeze as they started on their voyage from the *Northern* end of the Red Sea. Brugsch, followed by Canon Scarth, sees in Baal Zephon the site of the temple of Zeus Kasios. Both identifications rest on the frailest basis of evidence. Migdol may be, for aught we know, some one of the towers along the line of frontier-fortresses, of which I have spoken above.

But the most glaring defects of the entire scheme that we

are examining, have yet to be noticed. This theory involves not only a *crossing*, but a *recrossing* of the lake Menzaleh. Not a hint of this strange complication is to be found in the sacred text. Take what is probably the more ancient document, Numbers xxxiii. In the eighth verse we read: "And they crossed over in the midst of the sea to the wilderness." The language implies a *straight forward*, not a to-and-fro, movement. The *midbar* is afterwards defined as that of Etham or Shur, the wilderness which stretched across the entire extent of the Northern portion of the Sinaitic peninsula.

The crossing, or rather *recrossing*, which Canon Scarth's theory involves, would have merely resulted in bringing Israel back into close proximity with the frontier garrisons of Egypt. Assuredly under such circumstances a song of triumph would have been premature. They were not yet quit of the "iron furnace," and were still ignorant of what an infuriated populace might do. Nor does the identification of Marah with the Bitter Lakes appear at all probable. So large an extent of water would, according to Hebrew usage, have been designated a *Yam* (or sea). The whole of this region would have been infested with danger to the hated race of *Amu*, and we should surely have expected that after the overthrow of Pharaoh's host every effort would have been made to leave the last Migdol in the land of bondage far in the rear. Nor would any attempt have been made to find water in a region which must have been all too familiar to the century-long inhabitants of the land of Goshen.

Far different is the language of the sacred text. The song of the Redeemed is the triumphal ode of danger overcome and freedom completely won. And as such it is eternal. It lives in the consciousness of Christendom as the expression of reverent rejoicing over that mighty change wherein we experience our redemption through Christ

Jesus from the bondage of sin and the world. The tyrannic and distorting powers of human opinion and civilization are left behind. Henceforth, "old things are passed away, and all things are become new." We have been baptized "in the cloud and in the sea." The desert stages have begun, and we march :

On to the bound of the waste,
On to the city of God.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

ISAIAH: AN IDEAL BIOGRAPHY.

vi. THE LAST LABOURS OF THE PROPHET.

THE thoughts of Isaiah during the last decade of his life must, in the nature of the case, have taken a twofold direction. He had come to the full term of fourscore years, and yet, as it had been said of Moses, so it might have been said of him, that his "eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated" (Deut. xxxiv. 7). Never had he spoken with greater force, never had his genius kindled into a diviner glow of inspiration than when, three years before Hezekiah's death, he uttered in the name of Jehovah his indignant defiance of Sennacherib. But it was, as far as we can judge, his last public utterance. There was no occasion for his intervention during the short remainder of the good king's reign. From the hour of Manasseh's accession there was nothing for him but the attitude, first of silent mourning, then of indignant but unrecorded protest, then, as the tradition runs, of the martyr waiting for his doom.

The natural employment of a statesman, thinker, poet, at such a time and under such conditions, is to "set his house in order," to gather together the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost. He looks over his MS. papers, sorts and arranges them, preserves some and de-

stroys others. He takes a survey of his past life, and notes its partial successes and its partial failures, gathers together the lessons of his experience, and seeks with what power yet remains to him to impress those lessons on the generation that is rising up around him. Not seldom is it found true that, at such a time his

“Old experience doth attain
To something of prophetic strain.”

and the old man forecasts the future which he is not to see, looks out, as from a Pisgah height, on the land of promise which he is not to enter, and sees his nation renewing her youth like an eagle, “at the very fountain itself of heavenly radiance,” or taking its leap in the dark, shooting its Niagara of war or revolution, with little thought of what lies beyond it. If he has taken an active share in the events of the history of his time, so that he can say of them *quorum pars magna fui*, he takes measures that the principles on which he acted may not be misunderstood by a later generation.

All these elements were present in the case of Isaiah, and there was nothing in his calling or inspiration as a prophet to hinder their working naturally and normally as they have done with others. Rather, according to any true theory of what has been called a dynamic as distinguished from a mechanical inspiration, they would be penetrated and pervaded by a higher intensity of feeling and illumination, the spiritual not crushing the natural, but intensifying and transfiguring it.

And so, beyond the shadow of a doubt, it actually was. He had begun his life by writing the history of Uzziah. One of his closing labours, though it was not actually their great crown and consummation, was to write the history of Hezekiah. “The rest of the acts of Hezekiah and his goodness,” says the Chronicler, “behold, they are written

in the vision of Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz" (2 Chron. xxxii. 32). It is clear that the book so referred to must have been something more than that which now stands in the Old Testament canon under Isaiah's name, for that records but few of the acts of Hezekiah, and dwells rather on those which called for the prophet's reproofs than on his acts of beneficence and wisdom. The four historical chapters (xxxvi.-xxxix.) are doubtless extracts from such a book, but we can hardly doubt that it contained also the history of Hezekiah's reformation and of his strivings after the restoration of national unity, which served as the groundwork of the exceptionally full narrative of 2 Chronicles xxix.-xxxi., and with which the Chronicler has interwoven the more minute details which he found in the archives of the Temple.

The work of selection from his prophetic writings or the report of his prophetic preachings was a more difficult one. We cannot imagine for a moment, looking to the intense activity of Isaiah's character, that what we now have contains all that he wrote or spoke. If we accept St. John's words of a ministry that lasted at the outside but three short years, that he supposed, if the things which Jesus did should be written every one, that "the world itself could not contain the books that should be written" (John xxi. 25), as a natural and pardonable hyperbole, much more would such words be true of an activity that spread over sixty or seventy years. In that work of selection and arrangement Isaiah would doubtless have the help of the disciples whom, as we have seen, he had gathered round him (viii. 16), and whom he had trained, as it ultimately turned out, in the school of which martyrdom was the outcome. They—one or more of them—would naturally be to him what Baruch was afterwards to Jeremiah (Jer. xxxvi. 4). We are left to infer the principles on which the work was done, the leading ideas of the choice and the

order, from the result which is now before us. He would begin with what was the complement of his earliest work, that which represented the state of Judah in the closing years of Uzziah's reign,—the warnings and misgivings to which that state gave rise, the forecast, dimly shadowed out, and not by name, of an Assyrian invasion (v. 26–30),—the hopes of a brighter future which were not actually crushed by it (ii. 1–5). In point of time those first five chapters were probably written subsequent to the vision and the call of Chapter vi., but they represented much of what he had thought and felt prior to the call; they explained why he had spoken of himself as dwelling “among a people of unclean lips” (vi. 5), what was meant by the sentence of a judicial blindness and deafness following on the wilful neglect of the light that had been given and of the voice that had been heard behind them (vi. 10), and therefore they were placed in the fore-front of his volume as a natural introduction.

No single chapter in Isaiah, with the exception of the first five which, on this hypothesis, were written in the early years of Jotham, can be assigned with any reasonable probability to the reign of that monarch, and we are carried on abruptly to the great epoch of the Syro-Ephraimite invasion in that of Ahaz. The view that has been given of Isaiah's life supplies at least a natural explanation of the fact. He was occupied with his great work on the history of Uzziah, also with the early joys and hopes of his home-life with his prophetess-bride, possibly also with the responsibilities which devolved on him as the counsellor of Jotham and the tutor of the young Ahaz. His object in collecting his “remains” was not to write his own biography. Rather would he willingly efface himself except so far as he was the mouthpiece of the Holy One of Israel, and therefore all this he deliberately passed over. The first Assyrian invasion, however, and the part which

he had taken in it, seemed naturally too important to be thus dealt with. Then it had been given to him to foresee dangers to which statesmen and princes had been blind, to rebuke the proud boasts of the invader, to declare as an abiding truth that God was with his people (vii. 14), to hold out the hope of ever-fresh manifestations of his presence, culminating in one supreme personal revelation, a time of the restitution of all things, a golden age of peace, the revelation of the sons of God—of *the* Son of God—for which the whole creation had been groaning and travailing together (ix. 6; xi. 1-16). It was fit that the second section of his prophecies should end, not as with the funeral knell of doom which had closed the first—or would have closed it, but that there was the melody of a distant joy wafted across the murky air (vi. 11-13)—but with a psalm of thanksgiving worthy to take its place, as it actually did, in the anthem-book of the temple, and to be used, as it was for centuries, in the solemn procession in which the priests went on the great day of the Feast of Tabernacles with their golden chalice to draw water from the spring of Siloam, as the earthly type of the “wells of salvation” of which Isaiah had spoken (xii. 1-6).

The next division of the volume is the collection of distinct “*burdens*” or “*oracles*” delivered, as internal evidence points out, mainly in the reign of Hezekiah,¹ chiefly, though not exclusively, dealing with the neighbouring nations who were outside the covenant. Of these, as has been already stated, the first in order is probably the last, or all but the last, in date. It is not likely to have been written before the arrival of the Babylonian ambassadors had brought that city within the horizon of the prophet's outlook. We have seen, in a record the authenticity of

¹ Only two of the “*burdens*” have distinct notes of time: (1) that against Philistia (xiv. 28-32), which is fixed at the year of the death of Ahaz (B.C. 727), and that connected with Sargon's expedition against Ashdod (xx. 1), of which the date is B.C. 710.

which cannot be disputed, that the first thought which that arrival suggested was that Babylon was to be to Judah what Assyria had been to Israel, that the people should be carried captive thither, that the heirs of the House of David should be eunuchs in the palace of its king. Doubtless the ambassadors had magnified their office, had told of the treasures and the glory of the "gold-abounding" city,¹ had boasted of their alliance with more distant nations, of the rising power of the semi-barbarian Media as ready to co-operate with them against Assyria. The question could not fail to present itself to the prophet's mind, What was to be the future of that great and boastful city, the "glory of the Chaldees' excellency," founded on the right of might, cruel and oppressive? It followed from his conviction of a righteous order visibly asserting itself from time to time in what he calls "days of Jehovah," that he could see in such an empire no element of permanency. Already there dawned upon his mind, as afterwards more fully on that of Ezekiel, that vision of the dark Sheol, the Hades of mighty kings, of the sceptred dead, the "giant forms of empires on their way" to ruin and desolation. To that thought, which might grow out of an experience that became prophetic, inspiration gave the full assurance of conviction. Isaiah already throws himself forward mentally into the time when Lucifer, the bright morning star,² shall fall from its heaven of power, and the monarchs of the nations shall rise from their thrones in Hades to welcome the last of its kings (xiv. 9), and the cry shall spread from watch-tower to watch-tower in the wilder-

¹ "Gold-abounding," the ever recurring epithet applied to Babylon in the *Persæ* of Æschylus.

² The symbolism was probably determined by the astrology with which Babylon was identified. In Assyrian mythology, Ishtar (= Ashtoreth) represented the planet Venus. The Patristic interpretation which referred the words to the rebellion and punishment of the rebel angels, and so led, through the Vulgate translation for the "morning star," to the use of Lucifer (the light-bearer) as a synonym for Satan, may be noted as perhaps the most extravagant of all the extravagancies of exegesis.

ness, "Babylon is fallen, is fallen" (xxi. 9). Already he sees that, as Babylon had rebelled against Assyria (that fact had come under his direct cognizance), so Media, now the ally of Babylon, would rebel against her, and be, with Elam, also rising into prominence in the north, the destroyer of the golden city. The fact that Isaiah could thus project himself, however vaguely, into the future of the exile of the Jews in Babylon, of the destruction of that city by a Medo-Persian confederacy, of yet another fulfilment of the name Shear-Jashub, another return of "the remnant that should be left," is, it is obvious, not without an important bearing on the psychological problems presented by the great second volume of the prophet's works. The chapters of the "burdens" are followed, as those of the second group had been, by a great hymn, or rather trilogy of hymns. Chapter xxv. begins with the psalm, "O Lord, thou art my God, I will exalt Thee." Chapter xxvi. definitely introduces itself as the hymn which "shall be sung in the land of Judah." Chapter xxvii. hints at another song of the vineyard in contrast with that of Chapter v., ending not, there, in devastation, but in the watchful protection of Jehovah. From Chapter xxviii. to xxxiii. inclusive, we have a series of prophetic utterances which have obviously been put together as beginning with the word "Woe," and which, so far, reminds us, though more extended and applied to different objects, of the like series in Chapter v. They belong to the series of events which preceded the invasion of Sennacherib, and which have already come before us as part of the prophet's life. They denounce the defiant revelry of the people, and their scorn of any teaching that reproved it, and the hypocrisy of their formal worship (Chaps. xxvii. and xxix.). They condemn the Egyptian alliance and the statesmen who were foremost in supporting it (Chaps. xxx. and xxxi.). They paint the picture of a better time, when there shall be righteousness in the inner, and prosperity in

the outer life of Israel (xxxii.). With an impartial indignation, as soon as Sennacherib had put himself openly in the wrong, they condemn him for his treachery and cruelty (xxxiii.), and declare that those who, like the Edomites, had been sharers in the guilt of Assyria, should be sharers also in the punishment (Chap. xxxiv.). Lastly they end, as the other sections have ended, according to a deliberately planned symmetry, with a jubilant and exulting hymn (Chap. xxxv.), of which, if we did not know what place it actually occupied, it would be hard to say whether it belonged to the first or the second volume of Isaiah's works, and which, as it is, reads as if it were manifestly designed as the link which connects the two. Strike out the next four chapters (Chaps. xxxvi.-xxxix), which obviously form an historical appendix, added either by the prophet himself or by some later editor, and were probably taken from the history of Hezekiah which he must have written about this time, and the words which tell how "there shall be a high way, the way of holiness," how "the redeemed of the Lord shall walk there, and come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy" (xxxv. 8-10), are naturally the prelude which leads on to the yet more glorious proclamation, "Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people, saith your God. . . . Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for your God" (xl. 1-3).

I am not about to discuss in this place, the grounds, critical, historical, philological, on which the authorship of the last twenty-six chapters of Isaiah has been questioned or maintained; the *à priori* assumptions, on the one hand, that there can be no supernatural prevision of the future, and, on the other, that every book in the Canon of the Old Testament must necessarily have been the work of the writer to whom it is traditionally ascribed. I content myself, for the present, with asking the question whether, given the acknowledged phenomena of the case, the hypothe-

sis of Isaiah's authorship fits in with them ; whether this is such a book as at the time, and under the conditions which we have assumed, might naturally have been written by him.

I have spoken of these chapters as forming a distinct book, but both terms are more or less misleading. The English division into chapters is modern and artificial. The Hebrew division into *Haphtaroth* (or sections), though more ancient, was not the prophet's own arrangement, but was adopted as a convenient plan for reading the Sabbath lessons in the worship of the synagogue. It is quite clear, on the one hand, that the whole has not the character of a continuous discourse. It is equally clear that it is not without a distinct plan, which gradually develops itself. One of the ablest of modern commentators has indeed, perhaps with an over-subtle leaning to mechanical arrangements, seen in it a series of poems constructed on the pattern of a trilogy, each part of the trilogy containing three lesser triads. As Delitzsch works out this thought, the divisions stand as follows :—

PART I. Chaps. xl.-xlviii. The contrast between Jehovah and the idols, and between Israel and the heathen.

- (1) Chap. xl. ; (2) xli. ; (3) xlii. 1-xliii. 13 ; (4) xliii. 14-xliv. 5 ; (5) xliv. 6-23 ; (6) xliv. 24-xlv. (7) xlvi. ; (8) xlvii. ; (9) xlviii.

PART II. The contrast between the present suffering of the servant of the Lord and his future glory.

- (1) xlix. ; (2) l. ; (3) li. ; (4) lii. 1-12 ; (5) lii. 13-liii. ; (6) liv. ; (7) lv. ; (8) lvi. 1-8 ; (9) lvi. 9-lvii.

PART III. The contrast in the heart of Israel itself between the hypocrites and the rebellious,—the outward "congregation" and the faithful and persecuted, the true *Ecclesia*, on the other.

- (1) lviii. ; (2) lix. ; (3) lx. ; (4) lxi. ; (5) lxii. ; (6) lxiii. 1-6 ; (7) lxiii. 7-lxiv. ; (8) lxx. ; (9) lxxi.

Without adopting this classification, which seems to me somewhat too elaborate, and to follow too closely upon the existing division of the chapters, the scheme is at least suggestive as indicating the way in which the great series of poems is to be read. They are one in the unity of their subject, manifold in their treatment of its varying aspects, separate and yet continuous,—are to be read, as it were, like Herbert's "Temple," or Wordsworth's "Ecclesiastical Sonnets," or Tennyson's "In Memoriam." There is a plan and a purpose in them; but each poem is complete in itself, and, as the whole must have grown to its completeness through many weeks and months, and, perhaps, even years, reflects more or less thoroughly the feelings of the writer at the time. If it were possible to know the circumstances under which each poem was written, we cannot doubt that a new light would be thrown upon its meaning. As that is not possible, we must be content to invert the process, and to infer, as best we may, the circumstances from the poem. To do that adequately would require, of course, a full interpretation of the whole volume, and on that I do not purpose to enter, partly because I hope to find before long another channel for such an examination as is needed, partly because the work will be undertaken in the EXPOSITOR by a scholar more competent than myself. For the present I narrow the limits of the discussion to the enquiry as to the light which the series of poems in this book throw on that "ideal biography" of Isaiah which it has been the object of these Papers to construct. There is something significant in the fact that, according to Delitzsch's division, each part of the trilogy ends with the proclamation of the darker side of the law of Divine retribution; Parts I. and II. in identically the same terms, "There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked" (xlviii. 22; lvii. 21); Part III. in words that express the same thought, and which have risen into a new prominence as having been adopted

and emphatically republished by the Christ Himself ("their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched") as the fittest symbols of the judgment of Gehenna (lxvi. 24; Mark ix. 42-48). It is as though the prophet's experience had taught him that whatever other aspects of the Divine government might be presented to the hopes of men, that addressed to their fears must not be suppressed. It was the final outcome of the belief in the Holy One of Israel, who was, by the necessity of his being, a consuming fire to all unholiness, which had from the first been dominant in the prophet's thoughts. (Comp. xxxiii. 14.)

The new prominence given to the argument against idolatry is, as any thoughtful student will note, and as Delitzsch's arrangement indicates, another characteristic feature of this book. In the earlier years of his ministry he had denounced it, and foretold its overthrow. Now he reasons with it as a man who had come into closer contact with it, and seen how terribly fascinating a power it exercised over the minds of men. It is, of course, open to those who maintain the theory of a later authorship to say that this was the natural outcome of contact with the idolatries of Chaldæa during the Babylonian exile, though all evidence points to the conclusion that that discipline of suffering did its work in producing an intense abhorrence of idols, which became before long as ingrained an element of Jewish nature, as their tendency to yield to the fascination had been before. It is, I believe, quite as natural to think of the prophet watching, during the later years of Hezekiah or the early years of Manasseh, the revival of that tendency which at the opening of the former reign seemed to have been stamped out effectually. That view receives at least some confirmation from the fact that the last chapter, written, on this hypothesis, under Manasseh, contains the most vivid pictures, drawn as by an eye-witness, of the mingling of the false and the true worship. On the one

hand there were the people sacrificing in gardens, and burning incense upon the brick roofs of their houses, and taking up their abodes in the cavern-graves, as if with the purpose of consulting the spirits of the dead, and eating swine's flesh (lxv. 5) as in the worship of the Zidonian Tammuz—a picture which might well have been seen in Palestine under Manasseh, but which was not likely to have any actual counterpart either in Babylon or Palestine at the time of the return from the captivity. On the other hand, there was the outward worship of the sacrifice of oxen and of sheep, the oblation of the meat-offering, the smoke of incense still going on in the Temple, as it had gone on in the days of Uzziah,¹ and each act of that hollow ritual was as offensive in the eyes of Jehovah as the abominations of the heathen (lxvi. 1–3). That also, it seems to me, belongs to the time of Manasseh rather than to the newborn zeal of the days of Zerubbabel and Joshua, of Haggai and Zechariah, as the Temple rose from its foundations.

A time of retrospection such as we have pictured to ourselves must have led a prophet like Isaiah to have asked himself how far his predictions and his hopes had been fulfilled. As far as we can judge, he must have felt that while those which spoke of judgments, Assyrian invasions and the like, and of deliverance from the destruction which those judgments threatened, had had their counterpart in the history of his time, those which spoke of a righteous king, manifesting the righteousness of God, and of a kingdom of peace and blessedness, had received but a very partial fulfilment. Hezekiah, with all his virtues, had yet many weaknesses that counterbalanced them. The material prosperity, the religious reformation, the restored unity of the nation, in which the historian might exult, fell far short of

¹ There is no indication in the historical books that Manasseh closed the Temple, or put a stop to the worship of Jehovah. His sin was that he desecrated that worship by the juxtaposition of that of other gods.

the glorious ideal in which "the sucking child should play on the hole of the asp," and "the earth should be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea" (xi. 1-9). Was he, as such an one as the writer of Ecclesiastes might have done, to abandon all these hopes as vain and visionary illusions, to confess himself *desillusionné*, to fall back on the rock of duty and to do right because it was right, in "scorn of consequence." That might be the natural and legitimate outcome of the experience of one who was simply an ethical teacher, but it was at variance with his whole nature, with his inextinguishable hopes, with his calling as a prophet. What he had to do was to recast his hopes, to give them a wider range, to throw them into a more distant future. He contemplates now nothing less than a "new heavens and a new earth" (lxvi. 22). That hope is connected as before with the calling and election of his people, and therefore it involved their prolonged, if not their perpetuated, existence, and their return from that exile in Babylon which he had been commissioned to announce. It was, as before, to be bound up with a representative of the House of David, ruling the kingdoms of the world. But a new thought had been dawning upon his mind which gradually assumed more distinct proportions, and which gave to those hopes a greater unity, and introduced into them an entirely new element. That mysterious form of the ideal servant of Jehovah, which seems, as we read, to shift and change its aspect, was to Israel what the "colossal man" of the idealist¹ is to humanity at large. As representing the nation, he embodies at once its calling and election and the deafness and blindness which had made it unfaithful to that calling (xlii. 19). Once, in the starting point of its history, that idea

¹ The phrase has become familiar through Bishop Temple's contribution to "Essays and Reviews," but is found (in the form of "cet homme universel . . . qui subsiste toujours et qui apprend continuellement")—I dare not venture to assert found for the first time—in the *Pensées* of Pascal. (Part I. 2.)

of the Servant of the Lord had been personally embodied, though not in all its fulness, in the history of Abraham (li. 1, 2). In the time to come it would again receive another and fuller embodiment in the person of the "stem out of the root of Jesse." The national and the personal embodiments were as concentric circles exhibiting the working of the same laws, the one gathering into itself in an intenser form the experiences of the other. For the nation, as the servant of the Lord, there had been needed the discipline of suffering, the fiery trials of affliction. What he now learnt was that this discipline was needed also for the far-off Christ. This was the new corrective element which characterized Isaiah's later Messianic prophecies. In his earlier visions he had thought of the righteous King as passing at once, because of his righteousness, to victory and power. It seemed so natural, so in accordance with the Eternal Law, that the righteous should simply prosper. Had he seen it so in his own experience, in that of his time and people? Had not suffering, and disappointment, and apparent failure, ending in the prospect of agony and death, been his fate and that of other witnesses for the truth of God, in proportion as they, or he himself, had drawn nearer to the ideal of the true servant of the Lord? Would it not be so in like manner with the true Israel of God, with him who gathered up the whole idea of Israel into his own personality? He too, though he was a Son, would have to take upon him the form of a servant, and to learn obedience by the things which he suffered (Heb. v. 8). He could not be a true servant unless he identified himself with all other servants. He too would have to pass through the ordeal of apparent failure, and to say, as Isaiah might have often said, "I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for nought and in vain" (xlix. 4). The stem of the stock of Jesse was to grow up "as a tender plant, as a root of a dry ground," to be "despised and rejected of

men." In proportion to his own freedom from the sins of which affliction might seem the natural punishment, he would have to bear the griefs and to carry the sorrows of others, to bear the reproaches of the blasphemer as though he had been "stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted." Then the law of a power to win men to God through sufferings voluntarily encountered and joyfully accepted, which was partially realized in every true servant of Jehovah, would reach its highest point, and it should be seen that *the* Servant was wounded for the transgressions and bruised for the iniquities of others, that the chastisement which brought peace to mankind was his, and that by his stripes we are healed (liii. 1-5). For him there was to be the patient silent endurance of shame and agony, as of a lamb led to the slaughter, "stricken for the transgressions for his people." He was to pass to the grave as the wicked and the oppressors pass, though in him there was neither violence nor deceit.¹ Yet that seeming failure should issue in an eternal success. He should see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied therewith: by bearing the sins of many he should obtain power to intercede for many, and he should divide the spoil with the strong (liii. 11, 12). Through this victory of the righteous Servant there should come that Kingdom of Heaven, of an Israel redeemed and purified, which the prophet, in immediate sequence to this picture, paints in more glowing colours

¹ The common reference of liii. 9 to the burial of our Lord's body in the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea can hardly, I conceive, be maintained. The two clauses are clearly parallel and not antithetic, and the "rich" of the one are identical with the "wicked" of the other. The type of rich man which the prophet had in view was that sketched in Job xxi. 28 (where "prince" is parallel with "wicked") and xxvii. 13-19, and Ps. lxxiii. 8-12, the ungodly who increase in riches, who die as malefactors, unhonoured and unlamented. The traditional interpretation mars the completeness of the picture of apparent failure and condemnation at the hands of men, by the introduction of an incongruous feature, for the sake of a relatively trivial coincidence, and the loss is greater than the gain. The common view too, it may be added, requires an inversion of the prophet's words. On that hypothesis the Servant of Jehovah was with the wicked in his death, and with the rich in his grave.

than before; the shame of youth and the reproach of widowhood forgotten, the kindness of the Divine Husband and his covenant of peace renewed, and her children taught of Jehovah, so that their peace, their salvation, should be great (liv. 1-13), the spirit poured out on all flesh when the Redeemer should come to Zion (lix. 20, 21), the glory of the Lord rising upon his people, while all around the nations were sitting in the gross darkness, and the Gentiles coming to that light and kings to the brightness of that rising (lx.).

We are all familiar with the interpretation of these and other like passages which find their ultimate fulfilment in the sufferings, the death, the resurrection of the Christ, in the Pentecostal gift, in the expansion of the universal Church. As with other prophetic ideals, it was not given to Isaiah to "know the times and the seasons which the Father had set in his own power" (Acts i. 7), and it may well be that from his standpoint it seemed as if this fulfilment was to blend with, or to follow on, the return of the exiles from their Babylonian bondage. It is as though, with his children's names still present to his thoughts, Shear-Jashub and the true Immanuel were to grow up, as it were, together. The great conqueror who was to be the instrument of God's purpose for that work of deliverance, as Sennacherib had been for the work of destruction, himself the shepherd, yes, even the Messiah of Jehovah (xliv. 28; xlv. 1) might seem almost as the immediate forerunner of the yet greater Redeemer, the true Anointed of the Lord. I do not now discuss in what way the name of that deliverer, the "Koresh" of the Hebrew, the "Kyros" of the Greek, the "Cyrus" of the English version, was made known to the prophet—whether by a supernatural communication, of which no one can say that it is impossible, even while we may admit that it is not analogous with the usual processes of Divine revelation—or whether it found its starting-point in the prophet's knowledge of kingly titles and symbolic

names among the Medo-Persian tribes, who had come within the horizon of his vision during the events that had brought the ministers of Hezekiah into contact with Assyria and with Babylon. It is, at least, a conceivable hypothesis that in this respect the prophecy may have helped to bring about its own fulfilment, and that a conqueror at the head of a people which had many affinities with the faith of Israel, and desiring to enlist the exiles of that faith on his side, may have taken the name which he found in the great prophetic book which they cherished as a Gospel, first in addition to his own, and then in substitution for it.¹

Into the further question of the relation of the life of the Lord Jesus and the history of the Christian Church to Isaiah's prophecies, I will not now enter further than to note that here also we may expect to meet with what Bacon has called "springing and germinant accomplishments;" the horizon of the far-off Divine event, of the triumph of light over darkness, of good over evil, the restoration of Israel and of mankind, ever receding as we advance on the pathway of the years, and yet, as it withdraws, leaving behind it typical and representative, though partial, fulfilments as pledges and tokens of something better and greater that is still to come. And in a very real sense it may be said that the prophecies of Isaiah, those especially of the closing years of his life with which we are now dealing, have helped to bring about their own fulfilment. More than any other prophetic utterances they served to sustain the hopes of those who looked for the consolation

¹ The chief facts connected with the name are: (1) that it was also the name of a river near Pasargadæ; (2) that Strabo states that Kyros, whose previous name was Agradates, took that by which he is commonly known from the river (Strab., xv. 8, 6); (3) that it was also the name of the grandfather of the great Kyros; (4) that the name was believed by Greek writers (Ctesias and Plutarch) to mean "the sun;" (5) that the weight of the authority of modern Oriental scholars is against this etymology, though it is admitted that it sounds like the Persian word which has that meaning. (Delitzsch, and Cheyne, on Isa. xlv. 28.)

of Israel, for redemption in Jerusalem (Luke ii. 25, 38). Looked at from the human side of their development, the minds of the Forerunner and the Apostles of the Christ, and even of the Christ Himself, were framed and fashioned on this great burst of prophecy, which comes to us as the swan-song of the old and dying seer. What, we may ask, would have been the ministry of the Baptist if he had not started with the conviction that he, and none other, was to be the voice crying in the wilderness, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord" (xl. 3; Matt. iii. 3; Mark i. 3; Luke iii. 4). Can we fail to recognize the fact that the whole life of our Lord, from that first epiphany when He declared that the one supreme purpose of his life was to be "about his Father's business" (Luke ii. 49), was a conscious and deliberate endeavour to realize Isaiah's ideal of the Servant of Jehovah? So it was that when He came to the baptism of John He declared that thus it became Him to fulfil all righteousness (Matt. iii. 15). So it was that, at the outset of his ministry He declared that He came to fulfil the words which Isaiah had put into the mouth of that servant: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor, . . . to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord" (Luke iv. 17, 18). So it was that the thought of his being exalted and lifted up was inseparably associated in his teaching with that of his suffering and death (John iii. 14; viii. 28; xii. 32), as it had been associated in the great prophecy of Isaiah (liii.). So it was that as He drew near to his hour of suffering, from which his purely human will would have naturally shrunk, He gained fresh strength for the great sacrifice by asking Himself, "How then shall the Scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be?" (Matt. xxvi. 54). So, by act as well as word, He made men feel that He, and none other, was that Servant of the Lord, the Beloved in whom the Father was well

pleased, who obeyed in silence, doing his Father's work without clamour and without strife, who would not break the bruised reed nor quench the smoking flax (xlii. 1; Matt. xii. 18-21); to whom it was given to hear morning by morning the voice of his Father, and so to be able to speak a word in season to him that was weary (l. 4; Matt. xi. 28). So, partly perhaps by his own actual interpretation of the words, partly by what may have been the yet more palpably certain proof of the interpretation of facts, the preacher of his truth could answer the question of the student of Isaiah, as he read of the righteous and the silent Sufferer: "Of whom speaketh the prophet this, of himself or of some other man?" by preaching to him Jesus (Acts viii. 34). So, interpreting what yet remained unfulfilled by this conspicuous fulfilment, St. Paul found in Isaiah's guidance that which he needed to sustain his hopes for his people and for mankind, for the restoration of Israel and for the ingathering of mankind (Comp. Rom. ix.-xi. and the many passages from Isaiah there quoted). The thought of the "remnant" is still a living thought. Shear-Jashub and Immanuel, though dead, were yet speaking through the Apostle to far-off generations. Isaiah might still say, "Behold I and the children whom Jehovah hath given me are for signs and for wonders in Israel from the Lord of Hosts which dwelleth in Mount Zion" (viii. 18).

The thoughts thus suggested, considered in their bearing on the interpretation of the New Testament writings, on Christian evidence, on the perpetuated nationality of Israel and its possible restoration to its old country and its old pre-eminence, might furnish materials for a volume. Upon that ground I will not now enter. My aim in these pages has been, as I stated at the outset, to make the historical personality of Isaiah more living and real to myself and others than it has been before, and, so far as that end is attained, the labour has not been lost. "The historical

imagination," as George Macdonald has well said, "can nowhere be more healthily and rewardingly occupied than in endeavouring to construct the life of an individual out of the fragments which are all that can reach us of the history of even the noblest of our race."¹ But as the last application of that method of legitimate inference from acknowledged phenomena, I would suggest the thought whether in that prophetic strain which is the outcome of old experience, some such vision of what he was to be to a far-off age may not have floated before the consciousness of the aged prophet and strengthened him for the last trials of his life—its apparent failure, its closing agony and shame, its forebodings of coming evil. It has, through the whole history of the past, been the consolation and the joy of those who have been before their time, and who have therefore been as a voice crying in the wilderness, standing aloof from, and opposed by, the men of their own generation, to believe that the "age to come will think with them." May not that thought have come as a gleam of hope to light up the dark horizon of the evening of the prophet's life? In some very real sense, as St. John tells us, Isaiah in his prophetic utterances as to the Christ that was to come, "saw his glory, and therefore spake of Him" (John xii. 41). May we not cherish the thought that to him, as afterwards to Daniel and to Stephen, the heavens were opened, and that he saw the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God; that in that Son of Man he saw the sharer of the Divine glory, the true Immanuel, *the* Servant of the Lord who was to be perfected through suffering, exalted to the height of the Father's throne through the humiliation which brought Him to the very gates of Hades, offering his life as a sacrifice for the sins of others, and therefore justifying many, and seeing of the travail of his soul?

E. H. PLUMPTRE.

¹ "Essay on the Imagination," in "Orts," p. 17.

THE CHRISTIAN RITUALISM.

JAMES i. 27.

THERE is no more surprising and unfortunate defect in the Revised Version of the New Testament, admirable as it is in many respects, than its treatment of the keyword of this Verse. Not even in the Margin does it give us a hint that the word here rendered "religion" does not mean what we commonly mean by religion. And yet no scholar has any doubt that what St. James is here defining is not "religion," but "ritualism." The Greek word he uses (*θρησκεία*) is never used to denote that which is inward and spiritual in religion, but that which is outward and formal, that which is liturgical, ritualistic, ceremonial. What he means is that the true ritual, the true service, the true *worship*, consists of charity and holiness, and not in a punctual and accurate observance of ordinances and outward forms. It is not enough that we pray, and preach, and sing; it is not enough that we are baptized and that we partake the Supper of the Lord. These are only means to an end—means of grace to an end of grace. The end is that we rise into and exhibit a loving and an unworldly spirit.

We must understand, then, that St. James is not speaking of "religion" in its most inward and deepest sense, but only of religion as it shews itself in worship. He does not teach us that our God and Father requires nothing more of us than kindness to those who are in distress and a heart uncorrupted by the world. He is speaking of the outward service, the outward forms, in which a true religious faith in God as our Father and Redeemer will infallibly exhibit itself, and not of the interior motives and affections by which we are moved to render Him that service.

But what a noble and spiritual conception of the Christian faith it gives us that its very ritualism should be so large and gracious and pure, that its very body should be "a spiritual body!" And what a rebuke is administered by these inspired words to those who contend for vestments and postures, for rites and ceremonies, for Church furniture and ecclesiastical symbols, as if *these* were of the essence of that ritualism which even St. James declares to consist in charity and a blameless life!

I say "even St. James;" for St. James was, by nature and habit, the most ritualistic of the Apostles. Although an apostle and a brother of the Lord, he remained a Jew to the end of his days, and was revered by the Pharisees as more exact, scrupulous, and devout in all the exercises of the Jewish religion than they themselves. Yet even *he* could see that the very morality illustrated and enforced by the Jewish ceremonial was simply the worship, the service, the exterior cultus of the Christian Church. A Jew who, from devotion to God, was both kind and pure, both separate from sinners and yet compassionate of the sinful, had kept the whole law, had imbibed its very spirit, had learned all that it had to teach; but for a Christian to be kind and pure shewed no more than that he had mastered the ritualism of Christ,

that he was like his Master in his outward life, even though he were not one with Him in motive and spirit and aim. For a man may be both charitable and unworldly, and therefore a very good Christian so far as he goes, and yet he may be far from having possessed himself of the entire loyalty to truth, the fervent and abiding devotion, the unwavering faith, the burning zeal, the self-sacrificing love, by which Christ was animated, and by which Christ would have *him* animated and inspired.

All this is implied in the words of St. James; and as we listen to him we cannot but a little wonder at his breadth. Had we heard it from St. Paul, who was fierce against the law which had so long held his fervent and generous spirit in cruel bondage, and who was never so severe as when rebuking his converts for lapsing under the yoke of legal prescription and ceremonial observance from which Christ had set them free, we should have felt no surprise. But that St. James, the most legal and Jewish of the bishops of the Primitive Church; that St. James who worshipped in the Temple to the day of his death, and who outdid the very Pharisees in the austerity of his life and the length and frequency of his prayers,—that *he* should speak so largely and nobly, that he should account the innermost sanctuary of the Temple to be but the porch and vestibule of the Church, and admit the morality which was the soul of Judaism to be the mere body of the Christian Faith, can hardly fail to astonish and impress us.

Yet even in these large and noble words we find some traces of Jewish training and habits of thought. For when we read, "Pure and undefiled ritualism is to *visit orphans and widows* in their affliction," we instantly recognize a Jewish tone of thought and speech. Among the Jews, as among most Oriental races of the ancient world, widows and orphans were of all classes the most liable to plunder and oppression. Their inheritance was often filched from them under forms of law, now that they had no strong arm to protect them, by an unjust judge whom they were unable to bribe, or even forcibly wrested from them by some rapacious kinsman or neighbour. Hence it was that the Prophets constituted themselves the champions of the defenceless orphan and widow, denounced the curse of Heaven on all who wronged them, and even, by a bold figure of speech, declared God Himself to be the Husband of the widow and the Father of the fatherless. St. James; therefore, simply carries on the Hebrew tradition when he bids us, as part of the service, or worship, we owe to God, "*visit orphans and widows in their affliction.*"

Nay, the very word "*visit*" has a Hebrew tang in it. For, to the Jew, this word meant much more than to us. God *visited* his people when He redeemed them from bondage, or gave them abundance for want, joy for mourning. God *visited* Job when He cleansed him from his leprosy and gave him "twice as much as he had before." And, in like manner, we *visit* orphans and widows, in St. James's sense of the word, not when we call upon them, or say a few kind words to them

which cost us nothing, but when we defend them from insult or wrong, when we effectively minister to their wants or comfort them in their sorrow.

Even so, however, we do not get to the bottom of these words. There is a *principle* in them which we have yet to lay hold of. St. James specifies widows and orphans simply because in his time they were of all classes the most defenceless, needy, and oppressed. The principle of his injunction is, therefore, that, if we truly worship God and our Father, worship Him in the Christian way, we shall habitually range ourselves on the side of the needy, the wronged and oppressed classes of our own time, whoever they may be, and even though their interests should seem to clash with our own. Our first feeling is to be for *them*; our first thought how we may most effectually help them. According to him, charity and unworldliness are the two main constituents of Christian worship. And, assuredly, if we act on the principle of this injunction, charity and unworldliness are the very qualities we shall have to cherish and display. For, right in the teeth of both the spirit and the law of the world, we shall shew ourselves the friends of the poor rather than of the rich, of the servant rather than of the master, of the toilsome many rather than of the untoiling few, of the weak rather than the strong, of the sorrowful and wronged rather than of the prosperous and the merry. And to do *that* will tax our unworldliness to the utmost.

Nor will it fail to strain our charity, as well as our unworldliness. For the poor, the weak, the wronged, the sorrowful, are not always wise or just in their expectations and demands, nor thankful for the help we render them. They often exaggerate their claims, often suspect and distrust those who help them most wisely. Yet St. James says not a single word to warrant us in withholding our sympathy and help until we are convinced that the whole claim put forward by any wronged or distressed class is just, or that they are urging that claim in a wise and temperate tone. There were many widows and orphans in Israel; and we have no ground, either in history or experience, for believing that *their* claims were always just and reasonable, or that they were always temperately urged. And yet, reasonable or unreasonable, temperate or intemperate, the Christian disciples were to *visit* them, i.e. to feel for them, help them, defend them, comfort them. Who can doubt, then, that we are bound to defend, assist, and comfort all who are now weak, wronged, afflicted, however impatient they may be, however intemperate or unthankful? If they are unwise, they do but need the help of our wisdom the more. They do but need our sympathy the more if, for lack of sympathy, their minds are angry and inflamed. They are but the more in need of comfort if they add to their real wrongs fancied wrongs and slights and offences. It may be, and is, part of our duty to shew them, if we are able, where their claim is excessive or unjust. It may be, and is, part of our duty to protest against any folly or intemperance of spirit of which they may be guilty. But it is also our duty,

and our *first* duty, to feel for them, to stand up for them, to minister to them and comfort them.

This is the Christian rule or rite—that we *visit* the wronged and oppressed. Is it not a reasonable rule, a rule which commends itself to every man's conscience in the sight of God? What is a generous man's first instinct? Is it not to make a stand for the wronged and defenceless? What was the rule of knightly chivalry? Was it not to espouse the cause of the weak, and to succour the distressed, without any too nice investigation into their claims or into the consequences which might ensue if their claims were taken up and enforced?

Such a rule as this, however, demands a nobler spirit than that of the world, which is apt to sympathize with wealth rather than with poverty, with strength rather than with weakness, with success rather than with failure. And hence, by a simple logical advance, St. James, after bidding us visit orphans and widows, bids us keep ourselves “unspotted from the world.” There are those who speak as if the world had so changed of late that we no longer need to resist and overcome the world. But no man who has seen much of the world, or kept watch over his own life, can well doubt that the spirit of the world is still as adverse as ever to the spirit of Christ. We have only to read any newspaper that falls in our way, in order to see that, however its customs may have changed, the world is as immoral and unspiritual in heart as of old; that wealth, power, fashion, sport, self-seeking, and self-indulgence—all that holds men down in the visible and temporal elements of the world—have lost none of their attractions; and that he who would keep himself unspotted by the world must maintain a constant struggle against its law and spirit. To go into the world and be untainted by it, to keep a pure and single heart amid its snares and temptations, is still the most difficult of all adventures. Yet this is the adventure to which St. James summons us—*calling us to it as part of our worship*.

And here, in the fact that he regards, and teaches us to regard, unworldliness as an essential element of the worship we owe to God, there is a gleam of light for us. For, surely, it should help and encourage us in the hard and perilous enterprise to which we are called to know that, when we resist the temptations of the world in which we live and throw off its taints, we as truly serve God our Father as when we study his Word, or engage in prayer, or take a sacrament. All forms of worship reach their end only as they make us more kind and more pure, only as they strengthen us for the struggle with evil and the pursuit of goodness. What do we go to Church for, and hear his word, and ask his grace, but that we may carry the spirit of the Church into wrangling mart and busy street, but that we may make his word a light to our path and a lamp to our feet, but that we may live by and use the grace which we have sought and received? Our occasional worship is not real worship, it is not even sincere, if it does not help us to a constant worship, if we are not the kinder for it and the purer in our daily life, if it bring us no strength to overcome the world and to love our neighbour as ourself.

ALMONI PELONI.

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